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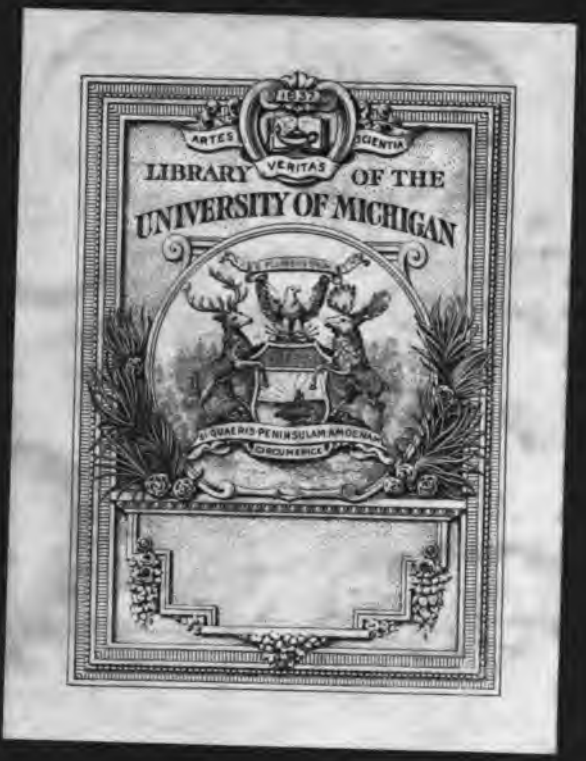

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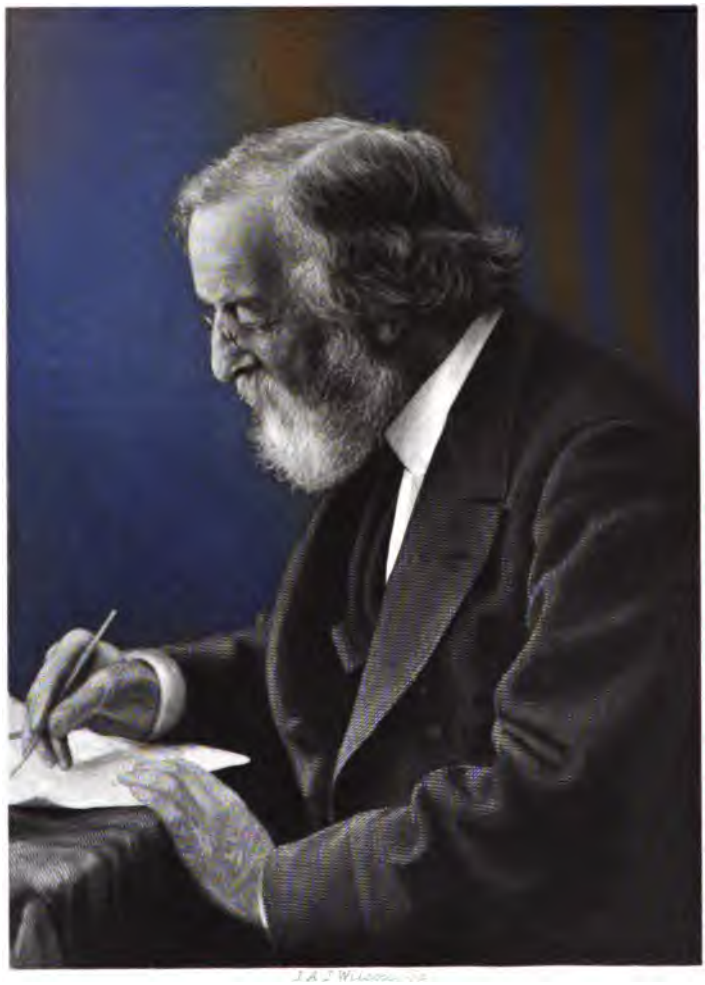

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PROCEEDINGS

330.7

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOL. IV. — SECOND SERIES.

1887–1889.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.
CLEMENT HUGH HILL.
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PREFACE.

THE contents of the present volume embrace the proceedings of the Society for the last two years, and among them will be found a Report on the alleged discovery of America by the Norsemen, which, in consequence of the erection of a statue to Leif Ericson in the city of Boston, has attracted considerable attention.

There are also included here Memoirs of the Hon. JOHN C. GRAY, the Hon. CHARLES HUDSON, Mr. JOHN C. PHILLIPS, Mr. WILLIAMS LATHAM, Judge HENRY MORRIS, the Rev. Dr. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, and Mr. WILLIAM AMORY. Portraits of five of the above-named accompany the Memoirs, having been given by members of their respective families. The wood-cuts which illustrate the paper on "Royal Memorials and Emblems in use in the Colonies before the Revolution" have been gratuitously furnished by the Rev. Mr. Slafter; and the original of Hubbard's Map of New England, a facsimile of which is inserted in connection with some remarks upon it, has been presented to the library by Dr. Green.

It was originally intended to republish at the end of this book the rare tract relating to New England by the Rev. William Morrell, with annotations by Dr. Charles

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Deane; but as early as May last Dr. Deane wrote that he had not strength to edit it, and advised that it should be omitted. This was a premonition of the fact, which now has become apparent to all, that his labors in behalf of this Society are ended. He has indeed been one of its most diligent and constant contributors ever since his election in October, 1849, as every volume of the Proceedings from that date to the present will show. A Roman moralist has said, *Longa est vita, si plena est;* and his life has been full and rich and fruitful during his membership here for nearly half a century. Without the advantages of a college education, he has made himself an authority in his own field of historical research, and received the highest honors from two colleges; and while he has commanded the esteem of all for his accurate and thorough learning, he has won no less their affectionate regard for his geniality, courtesy, and genuine kindness of heart. The words, slightly altered from the original, may truly be applied to him:

> "The general favorite, as the general friend;
> Such age was his: who shall not mourn its end?"

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

WALTHAM, November 4, 1889.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1887.

THE Society held its meeting in the Dowse Library, on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read his report of the previous meeting.

The Librarian submitted a list of the additions by gift to the Library during the past month.

Mr. Solomon Lincoln, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and Mr. William C. Rives, of Virginia, was chosen a Corresponding Member.

Professor GOODWIN laid before the Society a copy of part of the diary of Josiah Cotton, of Plymouth, grandson of the first John Cotton of Boston, and son of the second John Cotton, who was minister of Plymouth from 1667 to 1698. The whole manuscript, containing 444 pages by Josiah Cotton, with some later additions, is now the property of Thomas Sadler Cotton, of Chelsea, a descendant of Josiah Cotton. The copy here exhibited contains (in 132 pages) 156 pages of the original. The manuscript contains accounts of the relatives of the writer, with many letters from his father and mother, and a minute narrative of his own life, including a too brief mention of his life as an undergraduate at Harvard College from 1694 to 1698, when he took his Bachelor's degree. A hope was expressed that the whole manuscript might at some time be copied and published by the Society.

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Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL read the following communication, describing the adventures of a Hessian recruit: —

Johann Gottfried Seume, the writer of the following letter, is known in Germany as a poet and man of letters. He was born in 1763 and died in 1810. While a theological student in Leipzig, he conceived religious doubts, in consequence of which he ran away from the University and started for Paris. He was taken on the road by the Hessian recruiting-officers. The following letter is translated from J. W. von Archenholtz's "Neue Litteratur und Völker Kunde," a periodical of which Seume speaks in the latter part of his life as even then "nearly forgotten." The letter is published in the number for October, 1789, in the second volume for that year, page 362.

Seume left a fragment of an autobiography, in which the events narrated in this letter are told again in a more finished literary style. The autobiography was probably written many years after the voyage to America, and is easily accessible. The letter was written at the time, and is much more difficult to come at. It has therefore been chosen for translation.

HALIFAX, 1782.

DEAREST FRIEND, — Stay at home, and do not wander farther than to the shores of the Saale and the Elbe. It is far more comfortable to turn over the pages of a book of other people's adventures, sitting behind the stove in your dressing-gown and nightcap, than to go through the smallest part of them in person. I cannot make out to this day what evil spirit got into my skull and drove me away from Leipzig. I know well that I was a fool; and yet I find it very hard to acknowledge or even to regret my folly. But I am punished; I am in a fine scrape; and Heaven knows through what metamorphoses I must yet pass, only to break my neck at last, or to come back home a beggar.

As my comrade K. sings; who has done as foolish things as your old bosom-friend.

> To the army I give the best years of my life
> And come home old and gray at the end of my strife.

My rector, that old prophet of evil, told me that with my stupid, stubborn, obstinate head, I should never go far in the world. Although literally speaking he was mistaken, I feel only too well that his real opinion may have been a tolerably true one. But no matter, brother. I shall manage to travel through this short life somehow; and whether

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I go by postchaise or in a wheelbarrow does not make any very great difference after all; so long as nobody can call me a rascal.

Would you like a short account of my crusade? You shall have it; but you must forgive me if you find everything in it mishmash; for you well know that I am not methodical, and so am not skilful at observing trifles accurately and in their order.

A few days after I had run away (from Leipzig) as I was on my journey to France, the Hessians thought fit to bag me as a stranger, according to their custom, while I was innocently crossing a strip of their territory by the Frankfort road.

It was useless to protest, and I had to take my arrest patiently, and to loaf along in their company to Ziegenhain; a God-forsaken place where there must surely in old times have been an open passage to the Styx; for the whole atmosphere is still so pestilential, and the water has such a flavor of Avernus, that a nasty kind of scurvy, or putridity, or itch, or whatever you may call it, was the lot of almost the whole transport and proved only more mild than the Jewish leprosy, in as much as it finally healed when we got back to God's better world again.

You know that I was always a fellow who dared to leap the ditches, and who had no especial tenderness for his span of life. Our detachment was about 1,500 strong; and among its members a plot was hatched in which about 100 took part; because nobody was pleased, without his own consent, to go fight with the poor devils of Americans, toward whom we all felt very kindly, and wished them all possible good fortune.

They wanted to include me in the enterprise, and as I was rather cross at being incarcerated, I was not disinclined to play one of the first parts at the helm, had not a comrade of mine, an old fox of a Prussian deserter from the artillery, an experienced soul in such matters, warned me and held me back. I therefore gave up going to the meetings, did not join the council of war, absolutely refused to touch a pen, and so escaped the annoyance of being hanged with the others. For although a man may be persuaded that he is an honorable fellow; and, being no rascal, can sail off into the other world with a good conscience, yet this kind of aerial navigation is by no means either the most agreeable or the most respectable.

The plan fell through. The ringleaders and heads of the conspiracy were seized, for they could not possibly shut up the whole crowd, and the court with exemplary precision apportioned the punishment of the horrible criminals, grading it from the gallows down, by regular steps, to the great mercy of running the gantlet two days, twelve times a day, and being sent to K.[1] in irons. How glad I was that the cataract did not carry me along with it; although the poor devils travelled as

[1] Kassel.

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honorably in the cart, as we to America. It would be impossible, without sending you a voluminous packet, to tell you all the little occurrences of our march; to picture to you how we were watched, how hardly we were treated, and what tragi-comic things happened every day. Faucit,[1] the book-keeper, received us near Bremerlehe in a green meadow, looked over every file with the eagle eye of an intelligent merchant, and had the goods packed. Faucit is a queer fellow, and I much enjoyed seeing the compendium of the art of persuasion who has been everywhere so much talked about, and is still. I am not a good portrait painter, and especially cannot go into details; otherwise I would describe more particularly this and that figure that you are acquainted with through rumor and the newspapers; moreover to undertake such a task one must be quite neutral, and free from gall, which may not be the case with me just now.

Our voyage was like other voyages; we sailed round the Orkneys, for fear the French might catch us, if we should venture down into the Ocean through the Channel; and we were driven so far north, that we suffered from cold near the middle of summer, so that our teeth chattered. We often had storms, and one of them was very dangerous, as they afterwards acknowledged. The top hamper of the mainmast, with two yards, was carried away, sundry sails and ropes were torn; so that the ship in the heavy weather looked like Rome when taken by the Gauls. But I did not lose heart, and looked stoically on while the captain yelled from the quarter deck, and the British tritons could be heard crying "God damn" and "give here the bottle." Meanwhile there were funny scenes where in spite of the greatest spleen and the deepest misery you could hardly help laughing. Grossman speaks in his "Six Dishes"[2] of the refuse of Europe, and he may not be far wrong on the whole. There were extraordinary caricatures both of mind and body from all parts of Europe in our expedition; and the different employments of the different men, imprisoned in so small a space, made sometimes, in stormy weather, the most striking contrasts imaginable. Here, some were singing: "Now all the woods are resting;" there, another set were drinking the last of their rum. On this side, an adventurer, with the solemnity of a Bonze, was telling a story out of the Arabian Nights; on that a Berlin matron of Pfuhl in Schmolken was saying her evening prayer.[3] Here some were standing full of fear and anxiety for the future; there others were quarelling about their narrow berth, and lay pickled together like Swedish herrings between knapsacks and mattresses. In that

[1] Colonel William Faucitt, the British commissary for obtaining troops in Germany.

[2] Grossman's comedy, "Nicht mehr als sechs Schüsseln."

[3] I do not understand this pious matron, and suspect the whole phrase of being slang. — E. J. L.

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corner, a file leader gave the signal to his five bedfellows to turn over all at once; and in this two or three black hussars were cursing in good Polish, because the captain had forbidden tobacco-smoking between decks. "—— ——! there they are nailing up the coffin!" cried a Bavarian, as the gangway was covered over with tarpaulin, and the waves fell on it with a hollow sound.

I have still a most lively picture in my mind of the fear which overcame us near one of the Orkneys, when the wind changed quickly and struck the sails so that we could not come about as soon as was needful. The ship was thrown on her side with a shock and water began to come in at the portholes. Our terror was all the stronger and more unexpected, because there was no particularly violent storm at the time. I, who had charge of a mess, was just then carving the beef, and could hardly fling everything into a knapsack quick enough to hurry on deck. Here all the sailors began to shout, and all who were not sailors, much louder. An old clothes man from Dusseldorf, who has since become a driver in our artillery, with the anguish of death in his face, clung to the side with his right arm, stretched his left toward the island two miles off, and cried out: "Jesus, Mary and Joseph, only bring me to land this time, and you shall have everything, everything!" All was confusion, wailing and despair, and I did not feel a bit well myself in my left side under my regulation shirt, until the captain let loose half a dozen ropes with his own hand, the sails came round, and the ship recovered her balance.

Our food was miserable enough, and most unpleasant to a German stomach. Pease and pork, and pork and pease were our constant diet; but the pork was spoiled, and the pease about as old as I am. Sometimes we had oatmeal with olive oil, and pudding, but not like the Lord Mayor's. Water and flour were its principal ingredients, and yet it was our best dish; and a pool in a marsh would have been nectar beside our water, which we received in such small measure, that a man would often drink up the whole day's allowance in half an hour, and then have to go thirsty as Tantalus, with the horrible salted food and saltpetre atmosphere. Soft and intemperate people fell off like flies in this way, and died. I kept strong and upright; and you must acknowledge that my way of life, which seemed to you wrong and Spartan, was in fact temperate and orderly and perhaps better and more sensible as to diet, than a dozen doctors could have prescribed to me. We stuffed our dead into a sack with pieces of coal and gave them over to the fishes; but our captain probably thought this style of burial too expensive, so the dead had a twelve pound cannon ball tied to each leg, and thus took their journey into the deep often with no more on than a shirt. Such a mixture of wickedness and misery as we had here, have I never seen elsewhere; and it would take days to describe to you everything which

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I had here to see. But it was not always so. There were noble souls; often a great heart under a coat where you would have sought but an ordinary one; as you often find a common soul, or one less than common, under a garment which promised something better. I have here made the acquaintance of characters of both extremes; and their outward circumstances were as striking as their inward differences. Here lay together in one berth, a nobleman of Brunswick, a postilion of Gotha, a Hessian lieutenant, and a bailiff of Meinungen; there a monk of Würzburg, a French adjutant, a student from Jena, a game-keeper from Halberstadt, and a Viennese merchant; all in the past, that is, for now every one was *professor designatus* of the Hessian musket. A curious contrast; and if I should tell you the stories of several of them, which I had opportunity to learn, they would appear to you now comic, and now tragic. Especially the bailiff from Meinungen was my very good friend. He was a zealous follower of Jacob Böhm, whose Theosophy he brought to me, and recommended it highly, if I wished to acquire enlightenment of faith, and light in my soul. But I was so blind, unteachable, and bad for a proselyte, that I preferred to read an elegy out of an old volume of Ovid; on which account he called me his worldling, but ever remained my constant, true and fatherly friend. I should go too far were I to describe to you the character and adventures of this man so far as I know them.

At last, after knocking about for 17 weeks, we arrived at Hallifax, as wretchedly as Æneas in Lybia; only the deer did not run into our hands, as they did into his, and no hospitable Dido took pains to make us forget the dangers and fatigues we had endured. We rather came out of the frying-pan into the fire. To exchange the ship for the camp, was to us green heroes, who had hardly seen a tent-peg, still less knew how to handle one, a heavier labour than that of Hercules in cleaning out the stable. Imagine a cohort of such mixed material as we were, hardly one in ten of whom had ever carried a musket or pitched a tent, kept hitherto far removed from anything like a weapon, and now suddenly obliged to go into camp with discipline and order, such as military service demand; and that in a place where the Englishmen and Germans who came before us had naturally taken the best places; in a place that looked as much like Arabia Petrea as our old *Tertius* looked like a pedant; having to get tent poles and tent pegs out of the woods when not one of us knew what they looked like. That would make a fine picture of Trojans! The company-lanes of tents were dotted about on sundry rocky hill-sides, like Hebrew points, so that it would have taken the greatest of mathematicians to find a straight line ten ells long in the whole corps. On the very first night came a hurricane of a thunderstorm and made frightful havoc of the new dwellers among the rocks. My tent happened to be standing in a kind of little

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defile, through which the whole supply of rain-water rushed down, and amiably ran over our beds. One tent-peg after another gave way, and we prudently quarrelled about who should step out into the storm, and drive them in again. Every one of us was afraid to turn over and give his other side a complete bath, until at last a gust from the North carried away the whole tent, and roughly left us together, crawling *sub dio squalido*. Now quicker work was needed, and everybody lent a hand to patch up the torn pavilion as well as might be until morning. And when daylight came, St. George! what did our caravan look like! Hardly ten tents uninjured in the whole camp, and the storm had carried some off into the woods. It suddenly became cold enough to turn you numb. The weather took no account of our confusion. There was no need of driving men to work; whoever did not wish to shiver with cold and damp turned to, to put the broken pieces together again.

We now began to drill. They had so advantageous an opinion of my personality as to entrust me with the high office of sergeant. You should have seen me when I had to teach others, how civilly I stood there, a young, beardless instructor in war, knowing nothing myself; and how most of our new officers understood even less than we and the recruits. A little impudence, and the ignorance of the others helped me out of the scrape. I was clever enough to get as my bedfellow an old gray, bearded Prussian who had been in Stechau's grenadiers; who taught me so much in secret that at least I did not have to be ashamed when I was saluted as "*Herr Sergeant;*" and now the Colonel of the corps believes that I am a man who devote myself to the service, show "application" as his military expression has it, and whom he can recommend to the regiment which I shall join for promotion. We shall see!

So here we live a life that a galley slave would not envy, and I will await with resignation and patience what Parliament may hereafter do with us. In general I am of opinion that things can hardly go worse than they have gone hitherto; and then I have stoicism enough not to let the farce trouble me. How does it look here? The world is indeed made of boards hammered together; for in the whole town there is not a house with any more stone about it than a bit of a chimney; except one, a prison, which is therefore called "the Stone House." This town, which thirty years ago was composed of a few fishing huts, is now the capital of the province; if indeed it be not the capital of the British Provinces; which it has a fair show of being.

If men could turn rocks and stones into fruitful ground, this town, from its advantageous situation, would be one of the most fortunate in the world. The various islands at the entrance of the bay protect the ships in the harbour against all storms; and wharves could easily be

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built to which the largest vessels could easily approach at all times, without being lightened or waiting for the flood tide. The "King's Dock Yard," for the repair of ships of war, is a large and handsomely built work, in which, as the safest and strongest place, French prisoners are now confined. The many well planned fortifications make it very difficult to approach the place, in spite of the absence of ramparts and walls; but it is not likely to occur to anybody to come here with a hostile purpose, for indeed I do not know what they would get by it. Fort Hall, the Grand Battery, and George's Island in the middle of the entrance are considerable works; the first to guard the approach from the land; and the two last, armed with very large cannon, mostly 48-pounders, in the best position to cover the harbour; without counting the numerous little redoubts toward the sea and the land. The town lies on the slope of the hill, and from far out at sea has a good appearance, which however disappears as soon as you enter it. For you find that most of the houses are very bad, none of them more than one story high, and mostly only one room on the ground floor. The streets are badly paved, and often, especially in the dark, enough to break your neck. The fortifications and blockhouses, the magazines, officers' quarters and barracks do most for the appearance of the town. There is only one English and one German church, and a Catholic chapel. The town may have about 6,000 inhabitants. It is indeed wonderful that a young colony has been able to grow so much in some thirty years, in a place which nature has treated so niggardly, and which has nothing to attract settlers but a position convenient for navigation. All around are unconquerable rocks, and a wilderness which extends to the northward and southward for more than forty miles. The original inhabitants of the country have retired into these miserable regions, for the English have thought right to take away from them the best places for fishing and hunting, and to appropriate these to their own use. The Indians, full of just indignation, set fire to the woods all about, a proceeding they often resort to against strangers, and which nearly cost the young colony dear. The colonists had to fly in haste and take refuge on the other side of the bay, where they long remained, before they could again take possession of the place where the town now stands. You can still see the dreadful marks of this fire for many miles around, and even now it is the most frightful and desolate sight that I have ever seen in my life. Picture to yourself rock piled on rock, with the largest trunks of trees wonderfully pushing out among them, venerable with age, old as the Flood, and never yet measured off to the property of a forest; these trunks, already sinking under the weight of years, and thrown one over another by the flames; the rocky ground blackened by the fire and covered with ashes; and a little grass pushing out hardly once in twenty steps. Here and there a few oaks still stand erect, — which

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defied the fire until a rainy night put out the spreading flame; — sad pictures of destruction. The boughs are burnt and fallen; the trunks, blackened and without bark, rise mournfully over what was once a forest. Such scenes last for miles, broken here and there by a small lake, into whose waters the trees have fallen, showing still deeper the waste and terror of the whole. Few people concern themselves with cultivating the land, probably frightened off by the difficulty of forcing anything from the unyielding soil. Almost all are engaged in trade, or in the occupations connected with it; so that it is cheaper to burn coal from England, than wood, with which, nevertheless, the whole neighbourhood, so to speak, is enclosed.

You will be curious, too, to hear something of the natives of the country. As they have had to yield to force, they have retired deep into the woods, and seldom come to the coast to fish in the neighbourhood of the town, but carry on their occupations where they are not interfered with by Europeans. They probably belong to the family of the Mohawks, are very well made, strong and rather tall; for I have not yet seen any as short as myself; and yet I am no dwarf, for the Hessians have forced me under arms, and I am not the shortest of them. Most of them are about five feet seven inches, Prussian measure,[1] and not many are taller or shorter. As they do not now distrust the Europeans so much, and come to them with entire confidence to sell their fish and game; and as the English government does not allow one of them to be injured, they show that they, like most savages, are a good, kindly and open-hearted sort of people. Their physiognomy, it is true, is not very attractive at the first glance, but their honourable, companionable character shows itself in the first half hour's intercourse. Then they are so frank, so obliging and so pressing, without being importunate, that it is impossible to refuse them your pity and your friendship.

Not that some of them are not sometimes guilty of little excesses, especially in drink; for this is at all times the favourite fault of the uncivilized, as it is theirs; but you can notice that generally a certain goodness of heart and hospitality go with this, as shown both by ancient and modern history. When, therefore, a little party of Indians have sold the product of their fishing and hunting here in town, for a very small price, and have got about a Spanish dollar, their first great business is to enquire carefully after rum, which is their nectar; and when this has heated their heads a little, they begin to start all sorts of comical tricks; like Neapolitan noblemen they want to hold *Conversazioni* with the Europeans; they try all sorts of methods of making their meaning clear, and begin to dance right merrily from annoyance

[1] The Prussian foot is equal to 31.385 centimetres; therefore a man 5 feet 7 inches tall by Prussian measure would be 5 feet 9 inches, English.

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when people cannot understand them. The music for their ball is very simple; for some of them take the first stone that comes to hand, beat time with it, and hum a song of whose text and melody you cannot get the least idea, and thereupon the half-drunken fellows dance and amuse themselves greatly. They often bring their women and children into town; and then when any of their festivities and their drunkenness made them forget that they were not in their tribes among their own countrymen, they often allowed themselves a sort of intercourse in public together, which among civilized European nations is enjoyed alone and in private, and which indeed was considered by the respectable Englishwomen somewhat too free and Indian. But since the Governor has had some of them arrested, shut up and punished, and had the indecorum of such gallantries explained to them, they are beginning even in their pleasures to behave in an orderly and inoffensive manner.

Each of their little republics has usually its chief and its great men, who are punctually obeyed. A journeyman clothmaker from Berlin has occupied for eighteen years the position of such a petty Majesty not far from here, is entirely naturalized among them, and is said to be greatly respected by the other tribes.

When such a diminutive prince comes to town, he is distinguished from the others principally by a hat with a kind of feather, and a sabre. The clothing of the savages generally consists of a piece of cloth, which they know how to cut, to dispose and to sew in such a manner that it covers the whole body, arms and all. They make their shoes out of a single piece of deerskin, without soles, only sewed together over the foot and behind the heel, so that each one is his own tailor, shoemaker and haberdasher, and finishes his whole suit in a few hours, not cutting a Parisian figure, but falling little behind the honourable Polack's who adorn the Brühl at Leipzig in fair time.

The boats of birch bark, however, are a wonder, built with so much symmetry that the greatest ship builder might be challenged to make one like them. The bark, peeled from the largest trees, is very neatly sewn together; the seams are thickly smeared with pitch, and the sides lined with fine, thin strips of the same wood, and a few narrow cross pieces introduced to sit on and at the same time to give strength. The little craft is so well proportioned that nothing prettier can be seen. And these canoes are so light, that a single man takes one of them, which holds 4 to 6 persons, on his shoulders, and carry it where he pleases. But a skill peculiar to themselves is needed to use such a canoe; for I have seen English sailors from a ship of war who got permission from the owners to amuse themselves with one of these little boats; but hardly had they rowed a hundred paces into the sea, when they capsized, and the Neptunes lay in their element, to the great

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amusement of the Indians, and were not able to struggle into the canoe again, but had to swim ashore.

Now that we again enjoy a shadow of freedom, I especially amuse myself by hunting with my comrades, and on our little expeditions we often fall in with the honest savages, who always show us as much politeness as we could expect of them. Their huts are half above and half under ground, very warm, and, for a son of nature, comfortable enough. There the families live together in full confidence; eat, work and sleep in one room. Their beds are rushes, moss and often woollen blankets, which they buy in the town. The costume of the woman differs in nothing from that of the man, except that he wears a hat and she a sort of cap, which is shaped almost like a sugar loaf. A piece of bear's ham, and moose flesh, with fish and all sorts of birds, mostly roasted on a wooden spit, from which they eat their meal and then throw it in the fire, are the principal dishes. Bread they have very seldom, and they only carry it occasionally from the town as a present for their children. They prepare a brown sugar from the sap of a tree which is somewhat like a birch, and with it they sweeten their spring water, which is then their favourite drink, after rum; and in fact I have found this, as well as the remainder of their meals, very much to my taste.

When the French were masters of this neighbourhood, they sent missionaries from Quebeck to convert the natives to Christianity, so you still sometimes meet some who talk a little French, and who, when they hear the sound of the bell, strike their breasts, make the sign of the cross, and say *au nom de dieu du père, du fils et du saint esprit* very devoutly. This, however, is all that you can notice of their conversion; for you meet with no other knowledge or practice of religion among them. I have not found, however, that they worship idols; but to express duties and make oaths they point to their hearts and towards heaven.

The English have not yet engaged in the conversion of the heathen; but very few of them understand English, so that you have to communicate with them principally through signs. The colony, which consists entirely of Englishmen and a few Germans, knows how to profit greatly in small trade by the good nature of these Indians; yet you very seldom find an Indian who has so much confidence in a European as to decide to live with him, or even to work with him for a time. Strange customs of theirs are told on all sides; but you must be tired already of reading my letter. So I will just bring it to a close, and if I have an opportunity, send you more of the like by another ship. Farewell! Remember me to my friends who still think of me; the others were not my friends. I am now reading Father Horace, but with much correctness and much expression. I read him with more energy

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than my old rector could put into him with all his praise, especially the ode which is now my favourite

Angustam amici pauperiem —

Why? I make the experiment every day, and stick to it that such a journey, such a campaign, are a fine commentary over passages like: *insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum;* try and picture it to yourself as clearly as I can imagine it.

You ask whether I would not willingly exchange my bit of experience for a warm room, a good furred dressing-gown, a pretty girl, and a good little profitable office and its appendages. That I cannot decide off hand? Probably! Farewell.

The subject of the alleged discovery of America by the Northmen was then introduced, being suggested by the recent unveiling of a public statue in Boston commemorative of Leif Ericson. After an interesting discussion, in which several members of the Society took part, it was voted that the subject be referred to a committee; and Messrs. Deane, Haynes, and Goodell were appointed. Dr. Deane declined serving.

Senator HOAR alluded to a statue of General Lafayette, which was about to be erected in Washington, and which was the work of two of the most eminent living sculptors of France. This bronze colossal statue is to stand on the top of a monument, and around its base are to be placed the figures of four compatriots of Lafayette during the Revolution. Senator Hoar suggested that the members of the Commission having charge of this matter would be glad to learn the opinion of this Society in regard to the four persons who should be selected. The names of several distinguished Frenchmen were mentioned; and the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Mr. Winsor, and Dr. Everett were chosen as a committee to report upon the subject at the next meeting.

Dr. MCKENZIE spoke of a recent visit which he had made to Towcester, the birthplace of Thomas Shepard, in England. He saw the fine old church in which Shepard was baptized, and the record of his baptism in the parish register. The oldest part of the church dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. Near by is the old schoolhouse, which was once a part of a monastic establishment. Much of the old wall now surrounds the yard, and many of the niches which contained images remain. In the old schoolroom, at one end, is a recess

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or cell in which refractory pupils were formerly confined. No recollection of Shepard was found among the people.

Mr. SALISBURY and Dr. DEANE spoke of the monument to John Smith in St. Sepulchre's, London.

Dr. DEANE exhibited an early map of New England, known as Hubbard's map, and submitted some notes respecting it.

Notes on Hubbard's Map of New England.

MR. PRESIDENT, — Dr. Green showed me the other day a copy of Hubbard's map of New England, which he had recently purchased at a bookshop in town, and asked me if it was an original impression, as some fac-similes had been made of the map. I was able to assure him that it was a genuine impression and a perfect example of the edition of the map known as the "Wine Hills" map. Hubbard's map, which is a wood-cut twelve by fifteen inches in size, was made for his "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, . . . Boston: Printed by John Foster in the year 1677." Under the letter-press title of the map, in the upper right-hand corner of it, we read: "A Map of New England, Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places." The map was drawn to illustrate the history of King Philip's War, and with particular reference to a table of explanations at page 133 *et seq.* of the book, where the map is mentioned. And here I would refer to a valuable note of Judge Davis in the Appendix (pp. 463–466) of his edition of "Morton's Memorial," published in 1826, where a full description is given of the several settlements which were ravaged by the enemy during this conflict. Judge Davis has prefixed to his volume a copy of Hubbard's map.

Two editions of this map were issued from two separate wood-cuts, and impressions from each are described as the "Wine Hills" map and the "White Hills" map, — all the copies of one edition containing the error of "Wine Hills," for "White Hills," as applied to a representation of our well-known New Hampshire mountains. The "White Hills" edition is a trifle larger than the other.

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The question as to which edition of this map was first issued seems to have found no trustworthy answer; at least I have seen no good reason given for an opinion. I should mention here that Hubbard's book, the "Narrative of the Troubles," was reprinted in London the same year, with corrections, and with a slight change in the titlepage;[1] and the opinion is held that a new edition of the map — one of the two mentioned above — was cut anew in London for that edition of the book. If that opinion is correct, and if a certain number of copies of the London edition and of the Boston edition of Hubbard's book, with the maps, could be found, showing from their appearance and their places of deposit that they were as intact as when they came from the hands of the original binder, some light might be thrown upon the question as to which of the two maps was originally placed in each. But it is very difficult to find such volumes in this instance as in that of other books. For if they escape the contingencies of careless usage and the blight of time, they do not escape the hand of the spoiler, — I mean the book-dealer, — who often robs Peter to pay Paul, in filling orders for his customers; and the work of mutilation goes on. Books are robbed of their integrity, and those volumes for which the robbery is made, owing to ignorance or indifference, are often supplied with illustrations — maps and plates — which do not belong to them. This is an evil greatly to be deplored, for historical investigation is often thwarted by the existence of such books. Some thirty or more years ago Mr. James Lenox instituted an inquiry to find out what particular maps, in their several editions, belonged to, or were originally inserted in, the different books or tracts of Captain John Smith. I assisted him in the inquiry. He had all of Smith's books in their several editions, and all of the maps, though not all of the several issues of the maps, in his own library. But probably few if any one of the maps belonged to the volume which contained it, and the information sought for was obtained only by extensive research, — by comparison and analysis. Smith's map of New England was found to exist in nine different conditions; and the only example we could find of the map in its original state as inserted in the "Description of New England," in 1616, was in a copy of that tract in the Prince Library belonging to the Old South

[1] "The Present State of New England, being a Narrative of the Troubles," etc. London, 1677.

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Church in Boston. Prince bought this tract in London in the early part of the last century. The circumstances of its history were favorable to its preservation, and it had escaped the hands of the spoiler.

As regards the question we are considering, it seems improbable that any trustworthy facts exist, of the nature here indicated, to enable us to answer it with certainty, and we must proceed with other evidence. But I wish here to state one fact which I think is not without its weight. More than forty years ago I bought of Henry Stevens, before he went to London, a copy of Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles," published in Boston, with a copy of the map, and with the sermon at the end. The book was apparently in its original condition, just as it came from the hands of the binder. The map was the "Wine Hills" map. I have it now. Afterward I procured a fine copy of the London edition of the book, which had no map.

The two editions of Hubbard's map are briefly described by Thomas W. Field in a catalogue of books entitled "An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography," New York, 1873, on pages 178 and 179. After expressing the opinion that beyond a doubt there were two editions of the map, and thence inferring that one of them must have been executed for the London edition of the text, he proceeds to say that "no bibliographer would hesitate to declare that the one executed in the best manner is the one engraved in London. It is evident on the slightest inspection," he proceeds, "that this is the one having 'Wine Hills' engraved below the title in place of 'White Hills,' as in the other more rudely executed one. In the first, the letters are more perfectly formed, the shading is finer, and the lines representing the ocean sharper, clearer, and more than twice the number of the other."

The superiority here claimed for the execution of the "Wine Hills" map may perhaps hold good as to the lines representing the ocean, and possibly in other respects. But if Mr. Field had instituted a closer and more extended comparison of the two maps, particularly as to the *legends* or names of towns and places delineated on them, it could not have escaped his attention that the "Wine Hills" map was the ruder, — that is, the more imperfect, as I shall proceed to show. And here I may be permitted to mention that I had an opportunity several years

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ago — I find by some memoranda it was in 1872 — to examine and compare copies of the two editions of the map, and in some notes which I then made, after speaking of my own copy, a "Wine Hills" copy, I say: "I have noticed another map of Hubbard, a *corrected one*, evidently struck from a new wood-cut; the former one, or at least that from which my copy was struck, being very imperfect. Mr. Lenox has a copy of each, both inserted in Boston editions of this work. One map has 'Wine Hills;' the other, 'White Hills.'" Mr. Lenox had sent me these to examine.

I will here give the result of an examination of the two maps, or the two editions, as regards the legends placed upon them, in two lists. The same names placed under the "Wine Hills" map are given as corrected on the "White Hills" map.

Wine Hills Map.	*White Hills Map.*
The Wine Hills	The White Hills
Newhauen [1]	Newhaven
Stonttoai	Stoniton
Pequid Cauntry	Pequid Country
Prouidene [1]	Providenc [2]
Newper	Newport
Moiint: hopo	Mount: hope
Tauton	Tanton
Sandwıı	Sandwic [3]
Wajusei Hill	Wajuset Hill.
Lancasten	Lancaster
Haueril [1]	Haveril
Piseatequa	Piscatequa
Wintet Harbor	Winter Harbor
Waburn	Woburn
Billeriea	Billerica
Brodford	Bradford
Newbari	Newbury
Portsin	Portsm
Merimaek	Merimack
Ipswieh	Ipswich.

[1] This use of the letter *u* for *v* had been obsolete in all printing-offices for many years before the time this map was cut, hence the correction in the next list. The custom lingered later in manuscripts, and Hubbard may have so written it.

[2] The *e* is imperfect, and there was no space on the map for the final *e*.

[3] There was no space for the final letter; and "Portsmouth," below, was abbreviated into "Portsm" for want of room.

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Is it too much to say that these two lists of names show, to a demonstration, that the "Wine Hills" map was first cut, and that the errors on that map were corrected on the "White Hills" map? It is true that some of the names in the corrected list need further correction, and a few other names were still overlooked; but there is certainly a nearer approach to accuracy than is attained in the other list.

It is difficult to account for these errors on the "Wine Hills" map, for we should naturally expect to find as good spelling there as in the text of the book, which was set up in John Foster's printing-office. But it is quite likely that the map was drawn under the direction of Mr. Hubbard, and that he supplied the names to be cut, and that his handwriting, which was not plain, could not be easily read by the graver, who made witchwork with part at least of the copy. And the whole edition may have been struck off and prepared for distribution before the reverend author was aware of the errors it contained. "The author's long and necessary absence from the press, together with the difficulty of reading his hand," was the excuse given by Foster for numerous errors in the text of the book, which contained two tables of Errata.

After part of the edition of the Narrative was sent out, several pages of the text in signature M were cancelled, and other pages, partly unnumbered, substituted for the remaining unissued sheets; so that it may be said that there were two separate issues of the Boston edition of the book.[1] The London edition conformed to the later issue, and most of the errors in the two tables were corrected. Mr. Lenox had one of each of these Boston issues, which I collated; and each had a copy of the map, — one of the "Wine Hills" edition, and the other of the "White Hills" edition. His copy of the second issue was the Ternaux copy, which came to him through Rich, and had the "Wine Hills" map, which Mr. Lenox thought might have been a later insertion. His copy of the London edition had no map.

It is not improbable that the second edition of the map, correcting the errors of the first edition in the only way in which they could be corrected, was also "here cut," as its title reads. It seems evident that both editions were cut by the same

[1] See a further collation by Mr. Field in his book cited above, p. 179.

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graver, and neither has an English look. Besides, Parkhurst, the publisher of the London edition of the book, would scarcely prepare and issue a map with such a misleading title, and with no explanation, though he might be willing to give to purchasers of the book a copy of the map if he had been furnished with copies by the Boston proprietor for this purpose. The London edition as well as the Boston edition of the book requires the map to illustrate the table mentioned above, yet it is often said that copies of the London edition seldom have the map.

"The author's long and necessary absence from the press" must mean, one would think, something more than the inconveniences of a residence twenty-five miles from Boston, where the printing was going on. He may have been confined by illness. Mr. Felt says[1] that "Mr. Hubbard was on a visit to England in 1678, and was probably there to superintend the publishing of this work," and that "he returned from this voyage by October, to the great satisfaction of his parishioners." This implies that he was in England sometime during the year 1677. Perhaps he was; but he must have been here at home during the first half of this year, engaged in preparing his book for the press, and then in tabulating the errors discovered in the text, and in revising the cancels for the reissue, a copy of which was used, as we have seen, in printing the London edition.[2]

[1] History of Ipswich, pp. 228, 229.

[2] In Hubbard's Preface to his History of New England, written in 1682 or 1683, he says: "The compiler of this History was first carried into the country of New England about forty-eight years since, all which time he hath spent in that part of the world, save two or three years when he was absent in his native country." He came over with his father in 1635. (See Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.) I do not find that Mr. Felt gives any further information as to Hubbard's absences in England, neither is he very definite as to the time of his going and returning at the period we are now upon. He preached the Election Sermon in Boston, May 3, 1676; and the narrative of events which he is here drawing up covers the whole of that year, and comes down to April, 1677, — below even the date of the dedication of his book, "From my study 16th, 12th, 1676" (that is, 16 Feb., 1677, N. S.), or of the date of the colonial license, which is "March 29, 1677." It has been conjectured that the author sailed for England about May (Drake's reprint of Hubbard's Narrative, I. xxii.); and if he was at home by October, 1678, he was absent but about seventeen months. But could he have sailed in May with the printed volume of his Narrative in hand? Let us see. After the book was written, and the colonial license of March 29th obtained, it had to be set up in Foster's office in Boston, and printed. It is certain that by Sept. 14, 1677, — we do not know how long before, — the book had come from

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The map of Hubbard was a rude affair, and reminds one of the old wood-cuts of the previous century. Wood's map in the "New Englands Prospect," 1634, is the nearest approach to it of a more recent date that I have noticed. The author of the map says that it was "done by the best pattern that could be had." I am not aware of any published map that could have afforded him any assistance.[1]

Hubbard's map is now rare in both editions; but, so far as my experience goes, the "White Hills" is far rarer than the other. I have never seen but two copies of it. One of these was presented to the Historical Society in 1801, pasted on a thin sheet of wood which, becoming split, has now been rebacked; but portions of it are wanting.[2]

Both these maps had become so rare and desirable that the late Henry Stevens, the eminent bibliographer and book-dealer of London, who used to advertise himself as from his "Nug-

the press, as Increase Mather mentions it under that date in the preface to his "Relation of the Troubles." After the printing came the detection of errors, the cancelling of sheets, and the substitution of newly written matter for the text, also to be set up and printed, as we have seen, while copies had to be bound to be sent or taken to England in preparation for the London edition. In view of all these facts and dates is it reasonable to suppose that the author and printer could accomplish all this in time for the former to start on a voyage to his native shores, or for him to send a copy of his book thither, much before the middle of the autumn of that year? For it will be remembered that it was not the first issue from Foster's press that was sent, but a copy with several leaves revised, which it took time to prepare, rendering quite improbable the suggestion I have somewhere seen, that the Boston and the London editions, or parts of them, were set up simultaneously from manuscript copies. The tabulated errors in the Boston copies, not all of which are typographical, and which run through the book from page 1 onward in both parts, were principally corrected in the London edition; yet the errors for the second part, in the first table, seem to have escaped notice, and a few others in the first part. But then L'Estrange's license on the back of the titlepage of the London imprint, "The Present State of New England," etc., reads "June 27, 1677;" and that is the true date of the license, as the work was entered at Stationer's Hall by Thomas Parkhurst, July 2, 1677, being stated as licensed by Roger L'Estrange. This was probably done on the exhibition of a titlepage merely, and before the London edition was printed.

[1] Some complimentary verses prefixed to Hubbard's volume — signed "B. T." and attributed to Benjamin Thompson, of Braintree, born 1642, died 1714 — end with the following lines: —

"Moxon, who drew two Globes, or whosoere,
Must make a third, or else the old ones tear,
To find a Room for thy new Map, by which
Thy Friends and Country all thou dost enrich."

[2] Dodd, Mead, & Co., of New York, advertised in a catalogue of Americana issued in October, 1887, a fine copy of the "Narrative of the Troubles," which contained, as they wrote me, an original "White Hills" map, for $400; and they have since sold it.

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getory, 4 Trafalgar Square," in 1872 procured fac-similes of each to be made by Harris. One each of these he advertised in a catalogue of books to be sold at auction by Puttick & Simpson in November of that year (Nos. 1959 and 1960), and he describes them as being so well done, on old paper, as to be with difficulty distinguished from the original. He says that the *Wine Hills* is the London edition. In a note to me calling my attention to this statement of Mr. Stevens, Mr. Lenox says: "It only proves what Mr. Stevens's opinion is, but he has means at hand of deciding in what volumes the different maps are found. . . . I shall order the two maps from Mr. Stevens's catalogue as a curiosity, yet perhaps some one may outbid me." Have I not shown that Mr. Stevens was in error?

Mr. Stevens continued to furnish these fac-similes to book-buyers for many years. They were almost as good as originals. The Brinley sale reveals a copy of each inserted in a volume of the "Narrative." The Barlow catalogue reveals one; and in the Cooke sale, four years ago, a copy of the "White Hills" map was inserted in a good example of the "Narrative of the Troubles" as an original. And it was bought by Harvard College as an original, and of course exhibited as an original; but a few moments' examination recently convinced both the Librarian and myself that it was one of Stevens's fac-similes.[1] A number of what are called fac-similes of the map have been made in Boston, but all from the "Wine Hills" map. Judge Davis's copy was made from one accompanying the "Narrative of the Troubles;" that is, the Boston edition. It was a lithograph by Pendleton, and was not a good fac-simile. It was published for an historical, not a bibliographical purpose, and some of the errors were corrected. The late William B. Fowle published a copy of the map on a sheet with another map, in 1846, from a "Wine Hills" exemplar; as did Samuel G. Drake, in 1865, in his new edition of Hubbard's book; and Dr. Palfrey inserted a rude photograph of the same in a reduced form in the third volume of his "History of New England," 1864, from a copy in my possession. Mr. Field, whose book I have cited

[1] I was afterwards confirmed in this opinion by seeing, within the border of the map, on the lower side, these words: "Fac Sim. by I. Harris, Junr." I have also procured a copy of this map myself. They were probably produced by the lithographic process.

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above, had seen a copy of each of these two maps or editions, and caused a photolithographic copy of one of them — he does not say which — to be made for comparison.

Mr. JOHN C. ROPES communicated a memoir which he had prepared of the late Hon. John C. Gray; and Dr. GREEN presented, on behalf of the Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, who was travelling in the East, memoirs of the late Hon. Charles Hudson and Mr. John C. Phillips, which he had written during his absence from the country.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JOHN CHIPMAN GRAY, LL.D.

BY JOHN C. ROPES.

JOHN CHIPMAN GRAY, son of William and Elizabeth (Chipman) Gray, was born in Salem, Dec. 26, 1793, and named for his maternal grandfather, John Chipman,[1] of Marblehead, barrister at law. His father was the well-known merchant, whose enterprise and sagacity acquired for him one of the largest fortunes in New England. Among his brothers was the late Mr. Francis C. Gray, a distinguished member of this Society.

Entering Harvard College in 1807, in the same class with Edward Everett, the Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, Charles P. Curtis, and Dr. Edward Reynolds, he was graduated in 1811. After leaving college he studied law. In 1815, on the conclusion of the war with England, he went abroad. He remained in Europe about three years, returning in 1818. On the 23d of December in that year he was admitted a

[1] The following is the epitaph on John Chipman in the Eastern Cemetery at Portland in the State of Maine, formerly Falmouth, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1768: —

JOHN CHIPMAN, Esq^r.
BARRISTER AT LAW
WAS BORN OCTOBER 23^D. A. D. 1722,
AND DIED JULY 1^ST. A. D. 1768,
OF AN APOPLEXY
WITH WHICH HE WAS SUDDENLY SEIZED,
IN THE COURT HOUSE
IN FALMOUTH,
WHILE HE WAS ARGUING A CAUSE
BEFORE THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE &c. &c.
THEN SITTING.
TO THE REMEMBRANCE OF HIS GREAT LEARNING
UNIFORM INTEGRITY
AND SINGULAR HUMANITY AND BENEVOLENCE
THIS MONUMENT IS DEDICATED
BY A NUMBER OF HIS BRETHREN
AT
THE BAR.

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member of the bar, having read, as appears from a memorandum among his papers, sixty-six law-books. The study of the law was viewed by him chiefly as a necessary means of acquiring a knowledge of our system of government and of the practical working of our politics; and while he never engaged in practice, his familiarity with legal principles and methods was of great value to him in his many years of useful service in the City Council and in the Legislature.

Not long after his admission to the bar he was married to Miss Elizabeth Pickering Gardner, a daughter of Samuel P. and Rebecca Russell (Lowell) Gardner, whose mansion-house in Summer Street, on the site of the present store of C. F. Hovey & Co., many of us well remember. Mrs. Gray was born in 1799, and died on June 8, 1879. They had no issue.

On the death of his father, in 1825, Mr. Gray came into possession of what was for those days an ample fortune. He established his residence in Summer Street on the corner of Otis Place; and here he lived, during the winter seasons, for more than forty years. When the demands of business compelled the surrender of that quarter of the city to mercantile occupations, Mr. Gray removed in the year 1866 to No. 61 Mount Vernon Street, where he passed the remainder of his life, and where he died.

His summers were always passed in Cambridge. About the time that he began to live in Summer Street, he inherited an estate in Cambridge on the corner of Brattle Street and Fresh Pond Lane, where he followed with great interest and scientific thoroughness his favorite pursuits of horticulture and agriculture. To these studies he throughout his life devoted much time and attention; and his experimental researches and scientific methods contributed, it is believed, not a little towards the astonishing development in these directions which we have witnessed in our time. In 1827 he became a member of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, and from 1846 to his resignation of the office in 1856, he was its President. He was one of the original founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and from 1829, the year of its establishment, to 1833, was its Vice-President. In 1834 he delivered an oration before this Society. He was also a well-known and useful writer on these topics. In a volume of his "Essays, Agricultural and Literary," published in 1856,

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are to be found papers on New England Agriculture, on Forest Trees, on Orchards, and a remarkably interesting paper on the Climate of New England. In his preface to this collection the author seeks to recommend his favorite studies. "It may be safely said," he well remarks, "that no one ever regretted the time given to agricultural or horticultural pursuits, or ascribed to them any other than a soothing, purifying, and ennobling influence on the heart and mind."

But Mr. Gray was by no means absorbed in out-door life. He was a constant student and a wide reader. His library was large and well selected. His tastes were eminently scholarly. He was familiar with the classical authors. He was versed in the principal modern languages. His habits were always those of a literary man. He never lost his appetite for learning. He was found one day in the college library after he was eighty years old, reading most attentively a strange-looking work; it was an Icelandic grammar. In 1821, when only twenty-seven years of age, he delivered the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge. He was all his life greatly interested in the College, and was for seven years, from 1847 to 1854, a member of the Board of Overseers. The volume to which we have just referred contains essays on Dante and on Demosthenes, and a paper on College Education. The first two are valuable and careful essays. The latter paper is interesting as being one of the earliest discussions of the Elective System in our Colleges.

In 1841 he became a member of this Society. In 1855 he was made a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1856 Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Recognizing, as he did, to the full, the claims of the community upon educated men of wealth and leisure, he early entered upon the career of public service which for nearly thirty years he pursued with so much credit to himself and advantage to the city and to the Commonwealth. In 1822, the year in which Boston received her city charter, he delivered the first of the annual Fourth of July Orations before the City Government. His topic was naturally suggested by the change in the form of government which had just been accomplished, and it was treated in a wise and enlightened spirit. From 1824 to 1828 he was a member of the City Council. In

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the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1834 he represented Boston in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1832 he was a member of the Governor's Council. In 1835 and 1836 he was one of the Senators from the county of Suffolk. The next year, 1837, he returned to the House, and served there four years continuously, and again in 1843 and 1844. In 1845 and 1846 he was again in the State Senate. For the three years beginning with 1848 he resumed his seat in the House of Representatives, and was re-elected for the last time to that branch of the Legislature in 1852. In 1853 he was a member of the Convention called to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts.

It is not often that we see such a record as this of long and faithful service rendered to any community. Five years in the City Council, fourteen years in the House of Representatives, four in the Senate, one in the Governor's Council, and one in the Constitutional Convention, are certainly a remarkable showing; and it hardly needs to be said that all Mr. Gray's work was conscientiously and unostentatiously done. He had no ends of his own to gain; his only object was to be of use to the community. In this he was eminently successful. His particular department was finance: he was a recognized authority on the Committee of Ways and Means. There was not much fame to be won in this line of effort, but then Mr. Gray cared nothing for fame. There was great need of practical sagacity and careful work, and it suited the turn of Mr. Gray's mind and disposition to take hold of this task and perform it modestly and thoroughly.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that he was indifferent to the great questions that during his long life were agitating the country. In his early days he was a moderate Federalist. Later in life he was a Whig, and he belonged to the anti-slavery wing of that party. He was one of those who thought that Mr. Webster went too far in his 7th of March speech in 1850. When the Whig party broke up, as it did shortly after the election of President Pierce, Mr. Gray had no hesitation in allying himself with the Republican party. It was one of the fortunate peculiarities of his mental constitution that he never had any sentimental or other difficulties in accepting the situation, whatever it was. He was no *laudator temporis acti*. While he liked his own old-fashioned ways of liv-

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ing; while, in his household and out of it, he would rightly have been called a conservative, — he was yet, all through his life and down to his latest years, fully aware that the world moves; and no political or other change ever caught him unprepared, still less unwilling, from motives of sentimental regret or veneration, to examine coolly and dispassionately the new situation, or to take the course which on such examination seemed to be called for. Accordingly, Mr. Gray came at once without a sigh or a remonstrance into the ranks of the Republican party, and remained as a rule to the end of his days faithful to that party. Not that he was at any time of his life, still less in the latter part of it, an enthusiastic party-man, — far from it; but he accepted party government, as he accepted many other things in life, philosophically, and contentedly made the best of it, as being in his judgment, in the then existing state of the country, a preferable course to that of complete independency of individual political action.

Mr. Gray had belonged, as I have said, to the anti-slavery wing of the Whig party, but, as may have been inferred from the fact of his being a member of that party when it broke up in 1854 or 1855, he did not entertain the extreme views on the question of slavery which led so many of those who afterwards became leaders in the Republican party to leave the Whig ranks as early as 1848 and to join the Free Soil movement; still less did he sympathize with the Abolitionists. In his mind, the Whig party could be relied upon to check the aggressions of the slavery propaganda, and it was therefore bad policy for the North to weaken it by seceding from it and getting up a new organization. There was, to his thinking, nothing that the new organization could do which the Whig party could not do quite as well, and would not be perfectly willing to do. Hence he remained with the Whigs till the collapse of that famous party. From similar motives he sought to strengthen and to maintain the Republican party when that was once established, and all the steps taken by President Lincoln for the abolition of slavery were cordially welcomed by him. For the Abolitionists — those critics and revilers of every man who undertook the responsibilities and cares of the administration of the Government — a man of Mr. Gray's character and public spirit could entertain nothing but hearty and decided condemnation.

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Mr. Gray was an exceedingly conscientious man, whose sense of justice was remarkably clear. In his charities he was painstaking, and his alms were always judiciously bestowed. In all that he did in this way he was unostentatious and reticent.

In his religious views he was a Unitarian. He was quite content to acknowledge his ignorance on many of the matters insisted upon by theologians. But he always retained his belief in the Divine and providential care and government of the world, and his whole attitude of mind in this regard was that of an earnest and reverent man.

Mr. Gray's health was never robust, yet he suffered little from the ordinary infirmities of old age. His sight, his hearing, his quickness of mind, his power of memory remained unimpaired to the last. Finally, however, his strength failed, and on the 3d of March, 1881, after an illness of about three weeks, he died. In the previous December he had attained the great age of eighty-seven years.

Nothing was more interesting than to watch how in the last few years of his life his characteristic mental traits remained absolutely unaffected by old age. He still continued to find interest and delight in books, in affairs, in the many subjects which engage the world of literature and furnish topics for scholarly discussion. Nor was he in any way restricted to subjects with which he had long been familiar. New facts and new theories could always obtain a hearing from him. Rarely would one find a man of fourscore so perfectly open to conviction, so entirely willing to entertain new views, so fully accepting the fact that things have changed and are constantly changing. He always kept up with the times. In Massachusetts politics particularly, in which, owing to his many years of service to the Commonwealth, he was always greatly interested, his knowledge of what was going on was always fresh and accurate, and his views were formed with reference to the demands of the time. All those who had the privilege of knowing him well during the last part of his life must also bear testimony to his mental hopefulness and cheerfulness. One never rose from a conversation with him without a renewed confidence in the final triumph of the better elements in society.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. CHARLES HUDSON.

BY EDWARD G. PORTER.

THE career of Charles Hudson is an interesting proof of the facility with which a New England man, well endowed by nature and guided by an earnest purpose, has been able to succeed in various distinct and honorable callings without particular technical training for any one of them. The character of an American life has hitherto favored this versatile exhibition of native talent, though it is becoming more and more difficult for any one to repeat the experiment with much prospect of success.

At different periods in his life Mr. Hudson was a farmer, a schoolmaster, a preacher, a controversialist, a politician, an editor, a statesman, and an historian. That he acquired distinction in each of these positions (except perhaps the first, for which he seems to have had no particular inclination) is owing to the fact that he devoted himself with rare ability and zeal to whatever he undertook; and in passing from one sphere of public service to another he always carried with him the same qualities of independent judgment, personal integrity, untiring industry, and lofty patriotism with which he started in life.

Charles Hudson was born in Marlborough, Massachusetts, Nov. 14, 1795, of good old New England stock. His father, Stephen Hudson, was a Revolutionary soldier, one of eight sons, who all took up arms in defence of their country. His mother was Louisa Williams, whose ancestors were among the earliest settlers of Marlborough.

Though brought up on a farm, Mr. Hudson managed to find time for books, of which, at that early day, there was a very

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limited supply in the ordinary country home. With his first earnings he bought a copy of Pike's Arithmetic, which he studied with great delight. After attending the winter school of his native town he had the advantage of a course of study at Leicester Academy, where he formed the acquaintance of several well-known persons who became his life-long friends. During these years he met his expenses by teaching school in various places.

In 1819 Mr. Hudson was ordained to the Universalist ministry, and began to preach at Danvers. Soon after, he accepted a call to Westminster, where he remained many years, partly in ministerial and partly in political life. While here, he took an active share in the theological debate of the time, and published numerous controversial letters and essays. He wrote popular articles for the local newspapers, and frequently addressed Agricultural and other societies. He also became much interested in the Academy at Westminster, and made an orrery to illustrate a course of lectures which he gave before it.

Mr. Hudson was married in 1825 to Ann Rider, of Shrewsbury, who died a few years later. In 1830 he married her sister, Martha B. Rider, who survives him. From 1828 to 1833 he was a member of the House of Representatives, and then for six years of the Senate, after which he was transferred to the Governor's Council for two years. Such was his fame in the political arena that he now abandoned the ministry altogether, and was chosen representative to Congress for four successive terms, covering the eventful period from 1841 to 1849. Here he was associated with Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Lincoln, Douglas, and other noted men of the time. His speeches were calm, logical, and manly productions, discussing with keen analysis the great national questions then in dispute, such as the tariff, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the right of excluding slavery from the Territories. He was long the champion of his party in Worcester County, where he went from town to town in successive political campaigns, meeting everywhere with the heartiest welcome from his constituents.

Politically Mr. Hudson occupied a leading position among the moderate anti-slavery Whigs of Massachusetts. For the sake of union, he could not go as far as the "Conscience

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Whigs," who were led by C. F. Adams, Palfrey, Sumner, Stephen C. Phillips, Henry Wilson, and Charles Allen. Neither, on the other hand, was he as pronounced a conservative as Mr. Winthrop, S. H. Walley, J. T. Stevenson, and others who represented an important section of the Whig party.

At the famous Whig State Convention held in Faneuil Hall in September, 1846, when many notable speeches were made, Mr. Hudson was chosen with great unanimity as president of the Convention. In his opening address he denounced the policy of the Polk Administration, and strenuously urged the necessity of united councils among the Whigs, closing with the following words: —

"We are a conservative class. We profess to be governed by the Constitution and by the laws of the land. We cannot, it is true, abolish the institution of slavery in the States where it is beyond our control. But we can say effectually to that institution, as Jehovah said to the ocean of old, 'Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed;' and no lover of our institutions, no friend of the Constitution, North or South, East or West, has any cause to object to this course. We abide by the spirit of the Constitution, and so far as it contains guarantees, those guarantees we hold sacred until the instrument can be amended; but when asked to go farther than this, to build up and sustain an institution which our fathers merely tolerated, we ought to say that we will give no countenance to such a measure, and that slavery shall not be extended over a solitary foot of ground where it does not already exist. Whigs of Massachusetts, do your duty, and the force of your example will be felt elsewhere. And I trust that the day is not far distant when this evil will be forever put away from the midst of this people."

From 1849 to 1853 Mr. Hudson was a naval officer at the port of Boston; and from September, 1862, to September, 1866, he was an Assessor of Internal Revenue for the Sixth District of Massachusetts. In these important positions his rare judicial discrimination was brought into service almost every hour of the day, and he seldom erred in the exercise of his authority. Sometimes an appeal was taken from his decisions to the Department at Washington, and the parties interested were sustained by the Commissioner against Mr. Hudson; but in almost every case he "wrote the Commissioner down," and his own original decision remained the law. His pen was

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a formidable weapon, as his opponents had abundant occasion to know in the course of his long public career. That his official conduct was eminently just and acceptable to the people is shown by the fact that he was chosen President of the Massachusetts Board of Assessors, of the New England Board, and also of the Convention of Assessors of the whole country. He was also, at different periods, a member of the State Board of Education, State Director of the Boston and Albany Railroad, State Commissioner of the Hoosac Tunnel, President of the New England Association of the Soldiers of the War of 1812, President of the Lexington Branch Railroad, and chairman of many large public meetings.

During the last thirty-two years of his life Mr. Hudson lived at Lexington, and became closely identified with the affairs of the town, serving often as moderator of the town meetings and chairman of the Board of Selectmen. He was instrumental with others in organizing the Cary Library and placing it upon a permanent financial basis under the care of the town. He also did more than any other citizen to secure the present Town Hall, though his laborious efforts in this direction encountered strong opposition from certain parts of the town, as is often the case in such an enterprise. Mr. Hudson will long be remembered as the author of the History of Lexington, a work requiring much patient research and careful elaboration. The chapters on the events of 1775 are particularly rich and instructive. His earlier histories of the towns of Westminster and Marlborough are also creditable productions; and in view of his popularity in the home of his youth, we are not surprised that when a portion of Marlborough was set off a few years ago as a separate town, it readily chose for itself the name of Hudson.

Those who have known well the subject of this memoir will recall his large, manly figure, his heavy, measured tread, his frugal habits, his simple, though dignified manners, his strong will, his great perseverance, and his deliberate, yet forcible way of speaking, both in private and in public. He had a large fund of anecdote, and his reminiscences of the great statesmen of his time whom he had personally known were exceedingly entertaining and often quite original. These reminiscences he gave in the latter years of his life in a course of lectures which was largely attended. Often when seated quietly at home

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with a few friends he would delineate and dissect the qualities of many a public man with as much facility as ever a Bichat or Hyrtl dissected the human body.

Mr. Hudson's last great public service was in connection with the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the battle of Lexington. To the preparation for this he gave a large share of his time as chairman of the town's committee; and his speech at the unveiling of the statues of Hancock and Adams was one of the notable events of the day. After that, his health gradually became feeble, though his rugged constitution enabled him to undertake a moderate amount of work and to participate more or less in the discussions at town meetings to the very end of his life. He died on the 4th of May, 1881, aged eighty-five years. He was a member of our principal Historical and Antiquarian societies, and took an active part in their deliberations. His published works and family record are given in a memorial volume by his son-in-law, Henry M. Smith, printed at Worcester. A good portrait of Mr. Hudson in his later years was painted from life by Edgar Parker.

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MEMOIR
OF
JOHN C. PHILLIPS.

BY EDWARD G. PORTER.

JOHN CHARLES PHILLIPS, Jr., son of the Rev. John Charles and Harriet Welch Phillips, was born in Boston Oct. 21, 1838, in his grandmother Phillips's house, on Beacon Street, where the Boston Athenæum now stands. He was a grandson of John Phillips the first mayor of Boston, a nephew of Wendell Phillips, a great-grandson of William Phillips the Revolutionary patriot, and a descendant of George Phillips the first minister of Watertown, who came to this country in the "Arbella" in 1630. His father, who had been settled at Weymouth, accepted a call to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Methuen when John was about a year old. Here the lad spent the years of his boyhood, receiving his early education partly at Mr. Blaisdell's school in Lawrence, from which he entered Phillips Academy at Andover in 1851, at the age of thirteen, being one of the youngest boys of his class. He was gentle and modest in his deportment, a good classical scholar, and a general favorite in the school.

After finishing his preparatory studies under Dr. Samuel H. Taylor, Phillips entered Harvard College in 1854. In addition to the prescribed work of his class he accomplished a large amount of general reading, and also found time for boating and other physical exercises which contributed in no small degree to the excellent state of health which he enjoyed at this period. The writer of this communication was his roommate, and remembers walking with him from Cambridge to Methuen one day during the Thanksgiving recess.

During the winter of his senior year Phillips taught a district school in the town of Bolton, where he had great success

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both as a teacher and a disciplinarian. Ability in the latter direction was needed, as some of his scholars were older and stronger than himself, and at first inclined to dispute his authority. It is sufficient to say that the young master proved equal to the situation, and not only brought the school under perfect control, but won the respect and good-will of all the members. With this winter's stipend (the first money he ever earned) he bought a wedding present for his eldest sister.

After his graduation with the class of '58, Mr. Phillips went into the brokerage office of his brother-in-law Mr. Alfred B. Hall. While there he attracted the attention of Mr. R. C. Mackay, who offered him a place as clerk in his shipping-house on Union Wharf. Here he soon gained the esteem and confidence of his employer, and the firm advanced him money to enable him to make little ventures in the ships.

In 1860 he was sent out to Calcutta as supercargo on the ship "Union," Captain Norton, and remained there nearly two years as agent, living at No. 55 Radha-Bazaar House in the native quarter. The outbreak of the war in America occasioned him much anxiety, and in 1862 he returned to Boston with the intention of entering the army. But the persuasion of friends, and the thought that, being an only son and his father in delicate health, his first duty lay at home, led him to send a substitute to the war. He afterwards, however, regretted that he had not gone himself.

In 1864 Mr. Phillips was sent to England to sell a vessel, and the following year he formed a partnership with the eldest son of his former employer, under the firm of William Mackay & Co. (afterwards Mackay & Phillips), for the transaction of a general commission business in New York. Soon after this he made two business voyages to Cuba. The new enterprise was fairly remunerative, but not sufficiently so to warrant its continuance many years, and he consequently started the new firm of John C. Phillips & Co., in conjunction with Messrs. Floyd & Stevens, who had been previously associated with him in the Eastern trade. Their dealings were chiefly with China and Manilla. He remained in active business until a few months before his death.

William Phillips, a distant relative, having taken a fancy to him upon a slight acquaintance formed at sea, offered to give him $50,000, saying that if his business was not satis-

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factory this sum might help him to make it more so. John wrote him in reply that his business was perfectly satisfactory. His generous relative, however, gave him the money, and in addition offered to settle $50,000 more on his wife should he decide to marry. In 1873 this gentleman died unmarried and left our friend a large fortune in trust. He had clung to the old English custom of leaving his property to a male relative bearing the family name. As there was not a Phillips among his first or second cousins, and as his third cousin was John's father, who did not need additional property, he resolved to make his fourth cousin heir to his estate. William Phillips was a Harvard graduate, but had never had a home of his own, having roamed extensively over the world without forming any special friendships or acquaintances. Part of his fortune he had inherited from his father, and part from his cousin Edward Phillips. He died in Santa Cruz, having been attended by an English clergyman and the consul, who signed the necessary papers as witnesses.

In 1874, soon after inheriting this fortune, Mr. Phillips sailed for Europe, and was married in London the following year, October 23, to Anna, daughter of Alanson Tucker, Esq., of Boston. The ceremony was performed by Canon Kemp at St. James Church, Piccadilly, in the presence of a few invited guests. On returning to this country Mr. and Mrs. Phillips lived for about a year in New York, and then decided to make Boston their home. Being much interested in agricultural pursuits, Mr. Phillips bought two or three hundred acres near Wenham Lake in North Beverly, and soon converted what had been a barren hillside into a creditable farm. Here on a well-chosen site he built a fine house, in which he was accustomed to spend six months of the year. He also built a handsome winter residence in Boston, on the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets.

It is gratifying to record the fidelity with which Mr. Phillips used the exceptional advantages which fell to his lot. So far from being elated by his fortune, he felt that it was placed in his hands as a sacred trust. He made himself acquainted with the objects of charity which he intended to aid, and then gave liberally. As an educated man he was especially interested in education, and gave large sums to the well-known academies bearing his family name at Andover and Exeter. He was

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always aiding some relative or friend at school or college. He bought a plantation at the South, partly with the hope of being able to do some good among the negroes there. He was a trustee of Phillips Exeter Academy, the Children's Hospital, the Blind Asylum, and the Peabody Museum. He was also a director of the Union Bank and of the Boston and Albany Railroad.

The native modesty which characterized our friend's boyhood remained with him through life; and many of his good deeds remained unknown. All who knew him would say that he had strong common sense, calm judgment, great self-control, and a cheerful disposition. He was a singularly true, single-minded man, devoid of ostentation, and earnestly desirous to do his duty. His business career was marked by a high sense of honor and the strictest integrity rather than by any bold or brilliant ventures.

Although not long a member of this Society, Mr. Phillips took an interest in its work. His death, which occurred March 1, 1885, was caused by a disease of the heart from which he had suffered for several years, though many of his nearest friends were not aware of it. He left a widow and five children. The accompanying engraving is from a photograph taken ten years before his death.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1887.

THIS meeting was held on the 8th instant, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presiding, and there was a large attendance.

The Recording Secretary read his monthly report, and the Librarian presented a list of donations to the Library for the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary mentioned that Mr. Solomon Lincoln had accepted his election to Resident Membership, and that Mr. William C. Rives had accepted his election to Corresponding Membership.

The President announced the recent death of J. Carson Brevoort, LL.D., of New York, who was a Corresponding Member of the Society; and Dr. EVERETT and Mr. HORACE SCUDDER paid tributes to his memory.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP made the following remarks: —

If I had found myself able, Mr. President, to attend our last monthly meeting, I should have said a few words about the Honorary Member of this Society whose place on our roll we are proposing to fill to-day. It is not too late, perhaps. It is never too late to do an act of justice.

I refer to the Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, whose death has been recently announced, and whose public career is well entitled to some notice on our records. I was not in the way of witnessing personally his long and faithful service in the House of Representatives of the United States, from 1852 to 1869, as I had ceased to be a member of Congress a year or two before he entered it. But I knew him well in later years, while he was our Minister in Paris. He was there during the war between France and Germany and during the terrible period of the Commune, and he held fast to his post in Paris when all the other ministers and ambassadors had fled. Nothing could have been braver or more devoted than his services at that time. Faithful to his own country, he

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won the regard and respect of Germany, without forfeiting the esteem and confidence of the French people. He endeared himself especially to M. Thiers, at whose dinner-table I met him, and who was unreserved in his expressions of friendship and admiration for him.

I may recall particularly the interest Mr. Washburne took in regard to the monument of Count Rumford, which had been shattered by a shell during the siege of Paris, and which was restored at the joint expense of our American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of Harvard University, of both of which Rumford was one of the greatest benefactors. I remember driving with Mr. Washburne to Rumford's tomb, and arranging with him for that restoration, which he kindly took in charge and completed.

Mr. Washburne, among other noteworthy things, wrote a most interesting Memoir of our late Honorary Member, Edward Coles, the Governor of Illinois in 1823, who signalized himself in the cause of anti-slavery long before it had become a subject of concern to others, and who was hardly second to any one in his efforts for saving our Western territory from the introduction of slavery, and, indeed, for emancipation generally. Since then, and very recently, he published his "Recollections of a Minister in France," in two volumes, which abound in striking accounts of what he did and saw, and part of which he was, during his mission.

Mr. Washburne was a man of great energy and ability. Born in Maine in 1816, while it was still a district of our own Commonwealth, he might be claimed as a Massachusetts man; but he has left a record worthy of being commemorated not only in Massachusetts and Maine and Illinois, but throughout our whole country.

Mr. WINTHROP continued: —

The opinion of this Society has been requested, by our associate Senator Hoar, in regard to the four Frenchmen to be grouped in bronze around the statue of Lafayette on the monument ordered by Congress.

Senator Hoar has kindly sent to me, as chairman of the Committee to which the subject was referred at the last meeting, a copy of the proposed contract between certain eminent

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French artists and the Commissioners appointed by Congress for procuring the monument.

The terms of that contract clearly imply, as I think, not only that the four figures are to be those of Frenchmen, compatriots of Lafayette, but of compatriots in the War of the American Revolution. This is the phraseology of the contract: "A monument with a statue of General Lafayette and subordinate figures and suitable emblematic devices thereon, to the memory of General Lafayette and his compatriots in the War of the American Revolution."

The contract proceeds to say that the statue of General Lafayette shall be of bronze, and that he shall be depicted in the uniform of a Major-General in the Continental Army of the Revolution. And it then goes on to provide that "the said four of his compatriots shall be depicted in the uniforms of their respective grades during the period of the American Revolution."

All this plainly contemplates a military monument, and seems to require that the four subordinate figures shall be the figures of four Frenchmen who served in the army or navy of France in this country, in connection with General Lafayette.

I am told that some of our associates, including, perhaps, Senator Hoar himself, were of opinion that our selection was not to be limited to those who aided our country in the military or naval service; and that suggestions were made, at our last meeting, in regard to Beaumarchais, Vergennes, and others. But the terms of the contract, if they should not be modified, seem to me to relieve us most happily from any consideration of civilians. I say most happily, for I think there would be great embarrassment and perplexity in attempting a discrimination among those who aided us otherwise than by personal service in our war. The truth is that we owed more to the King, to the unfortunate Louis XVI., than to any one of his ministers or subjects, Lafayette alone excepted. But no one would dream of placing a statue of the King among the subordinate figures of such a monument. It would be anything but a compliment to Royalty.

There are other considerations, however, touching Vergennes and Necker and Maurepas, and Beaumarchais especially, which we may gladly be excused from discussing, and which would lead me, certainly, to confine the selection to offi-

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cers of the army or navy, even were the terms of the contract to be changed.

And, indeed, a majority of the Committee (Mr. Winsor and myself) agree entirely in confining our choice to officers of the French army or navy who came over personally to help us.

Foremost among these were the Marquis (or, as he was then called, the Count) de Rochambeau, commanding the French army, and the Count de Grasse, commanding the navy. There can be no hesitation, we think, — certainly there is none on the part of any of the Committee, — in placing these two gallant officers at the head of the four compatriots of Lafayette, to be grouped around his statue.

Only two places thus remain to be the subject of question. For the filling of these two places many names will suggest themselves to many minds, — for there was a marvellous and multitudinous array of the bravery and chivalry of France in our Revolutionary War. In the naval service there was the unfortunate Admiral de Ternay, who died early, and was buried at Newport, and whose remains have been the subject of renewed honor within a few years past. There was, also, the hardly less unfortunate and even more distinguished Admiral d'Estaing, sent over to us early, under the influence of poor Marie Antoinette. But neither of these officers had any part in the final success of our cause. Then there was the Count de Barras, the senior Admiral of the French fleet in our waters, who most disinterestedly and nobly surrendered the command to the Count de Grasse, and whose only other distinction was that of being one of the signers of the capitulation at Yorktown. The truth is that De Grasse was the great hero of the French navy in our service; and no one can be placed in competition, or, I had almost said, in companionship. with him. In view of the misfortunes and injustices which befell him after he left our coast in triumph, the figure of De Grasse may well stand alone on this monument, as the pre-eminent representative of the navy of France.

Meantime, there is a much larger number of French army officers who distinguished themselves conspicuously in our Revolutionary struggle, and particularly in that great culminating victory at Yorktown, which Lafayette, next to Washington, was most instrumental in accomplishing, and which was the crowning triumph of American independence.

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Of these officers, the Baron de Viosménil, the second to Rochambeau in command of the French troops, and under whose immediate direction one of the ever memorable redoubts at Yorktown was so gallantly stormed and captured, has been selected by all your Committee, to be named next after Rochambeau and De Grasse.

For the fourth place, which only remains to be filled, Mr. Winsor has agreed with me in naming the Marquis de Saint-Simon, who brought over from the West Indies at the last moment more than three thousand fresh French troops, making assurance of our success doubly sure, and whose coming gave such confidence and such delight to Washington that he is described by the Count de Deux-Ponts, in the journal so happily found and published by our Librarian, Dr. Green, as playing the boy and swinging his chapeau in ecstasy.

The Marquis de Saint-Simon commanded these vital reinforcements at Yorktown, and, after being severely wounded during the siege, insisted on being borne forward on a litter into the trenches. Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, on the 12th of October, 1781, just a week before the surrender of Cornwallis, uses this emphatic language: —

"I cannot but acknowledge the infinite obligations I am under to Count de Rochambeau, the Marquis de Saint-Simon, commanding the troops from the West Indies, the other general officers, and indeed the officers of every denomination in the French army, for the assistance they afford me."

Washington thus names but two, of whom the Marquis de Saint-Simon was one.

Should the views of this Report be accepted as the opinion of our Society, the group around the statue of Lafayette would be recommended to consist of the Marquis de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, the Baron de Viosménil, and the Marquis de Saint-Simon.

The Committee consisted of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Winsor, and Dr. Everett; and after the reading of the Report, Dr. EVERETT stated that he had been prevented from attending the meeting of the Committee, but that he now desired to signify his entire concurrence with the Report. The Report was

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thus made unanimous, and was thereupon unanimously adopted by the Society; and copies of it were at once sent to the Hon. George F. Hoar in Washington.

Professor HAYNES then said: —

The Committee appointed to consider the question of the alleged early discovery of America by the Norsemen, beg leave to offer the following Report: —

Our knowledge of the early annals of Iceland largely rests on the remarkable work of Snorro Sturleson (b. 1178; d. 1241). From old stories and songs handed down by tradition he compiled "Chronicles of the Kings of Norway," usually styled the "Heimskringla," from the first prominent word contained in it. A written copy of this was made on or about the year 1230 by Snorro's nephew, from which all the existing manuscripts are derived.[1] The first printed edition of it appeared in 1594, and was a translation of it into Latin. The original Icelandic text was not printed until 1697, when it was given to the world by Peringskiöld. In 1705 Thormod Torfason (Torfæus), an eminent Danish antiquary, published a little volume, now become rare, entitled "Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ." In this he states that Peringskiöld had not made use of the most authentic manuscripts of Snorro for his edition, but had incorporated, together with other minor additions, eight entire chapters, which are not to be found in any existing manuscript of Snorro's work.[2] These eight chapters, from 105 to 112 inclusive, were undoubtedly taken by Peringskiöld, or by some previous transcriber from whom he copied them, from the first eight chapters of the Saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson. Of this Saga the oldest manuscript (and this is probably the oldest existing Icelandic manuscript) is the Codex Flatoyensis, so called from the name of an island where it had been long preserved. This manuscript shows by internal evidence that it was written between 1387 and 1395. It is not an original work by one author, but a collection of older sagas.[3] The details respecting Leif Ericson's voyage to Vinland are to be found only in these eight

[1] Heimskringla, ed. Schönning-Hafn. 1777, Introd., p. xix.

[2] Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ per Thormodum Torfæum, Præfatio ad lectorem, p. 4.

[3] The Heimskringla, translated by Samuel Laing, vol. i. pp. 156–158.

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added chapters. All that Snorro says about this voyage is contained in chapter 105, and reads as follows: "The same spring King Olaf sent Leif Ericson to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there, and Leif went there that summer. . . . He also found Vinland, the good." There is nothing in the context to determine the precise date of "*the same spring;*" but from various circumstances, detailed in Snorro and in other sagas, it is shown to have been about the year 1000.[1]

No saga manuscript now existing, however old the saga itself may be, bears an earlier date than the latter part of the fourteenth century. As it was not until two hundred and thirty years after the event that Snorro committed to writing the statement that Leif discovered Vinland, and as the date of the manuscript which contains the details respecting the discovery is at least one hundred and seventy years later, it follows that all such details, if true, now rest upon no stronger foundation than a tradition of four hundred years. There is the alternative that *all* of these details are a romantic fiction, as *some* of them plainly are.

The accounts of the discovery of *Greenland*, given in the sagas, are supplemented by incidental notices to be found in contemporary writers; and some of them are confirmed by existing archæological proofs. This certainly tends to substantiate the truth of their statements about other discoveries. The only confirmation of the discovery of *Vinland* to be found in any writer nearly contemporary, is a statement by Adam of Bremen, whose "History of the Propagation of Christianity in the North" was composed in the year 1073. He is known to have journeyed into Denmark; and he states that he was told by King Sveyn Esthrithson that a place had been discovered and frequently visited by his people, which was called Winland, because grapes grew there spontaneously, which produced the best of wine. The manuscripts differ as to whether Winland was a "regio," or an "insula;" the best one reading *insula*.[2]

As regards the truth of the proposition that "Leif Ericson discovered America in the year 1000 A. D.," your Committee have reached the following conclusion: They think that there

[1] Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 191.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 338. For incidental allusions to Vinland in later sagas, see Rask's letter to Wheaton, Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xviii. p. 20.

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is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon, — they are both traditions accepted by later writers; but that there is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about his discoveries than there is for accepting as historic truth the narratives contained in the Homeric poems. Your Committee believe not only that it is antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century, but that this discovery is confirmed by the same sort of historical tradition, not strong enough to be called evidence, upon which our belief in many of the accepted facts of history rests; and that the date 1000 A. D., assumed for such discovery, is sufficiently near for all practical purposes, — much nearer the truth than is the traditional date given for the foundation of Rome.

HENRY W. HAYNES.
ABNER C. GOODELL, JR.

Mr. WINSOR spoke as follows: —

The Committee which were appointed to report "what suitable acknowledgment should be made to Mr. Parkman" for his recent gifts of manuscripts, beg leave to say that they have examined the volumes, and find them to consist of the following papers: —

A series of documents illustrative of Pontiac and his career, being the manuscript material upon which Mr. Parkman founded his "Conspiracy of Pontiac." One volume contains documents from the State Paper Office in London, 1762–1763, consisting of letters of Sir William Johnson, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and other papers. A second consists of copies from the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris. Two volumes are made up of the Bouquet papers from the British Museum, consisting in part of that officer's correspondence with Amherst, and covering, respectively, 1759–1763 and 1764–1765. Another volume is made up of journals and personal narratives gathered from the McDougall papers, the manuscripts of the Maryland Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Archives at Harrisburg, the papers of General Cass, and other sources, and including the journals of Major Maxwell Thomson, Lieutenant James Gorrell, George Croghan, Frederick Post, and

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other narratives by Jacques Parent, Mrs. Meloche, Mr. Gouin, Gabriel Saint-Aubin, and M. Peltier. In addition, there are four miscellaneous volumes, covering, respectively, 1750–1762, 1763, 1764, 1765–1778, which are drawn from public and private sources, in this country and in England, including such collections as the McDougall papers, the Sir William Johnson papers, etc. These make nine volumes in all, devoted to the subject of Mr. Parkman's earliest historical studies; and they constitute the evidence of his careful study of the material for that labor, which lay outside of the printed books on the subject.

We can find other marks of his careful attention in the series of papers of which he has drawn copies from the collection of that distinguished Canadian historical scholar the Abbé Ferland, and from which other volumes of Mr. Parkman's histories have derived benefit, — in a volume which he has caused to be lettered "Canada, Church and State, 1647–1704." Another volume, "Documents sur le Canada," consists of papers drawn from the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other French sources, and which are scattered between 1627 and 1702.

A volume marked "Voyage au Canada, 1751–1761, by T. C. B.," is a copy of a manuscript acquired within a few years by the Bibliothèque Nationale, and of which Mr. Parkman was not able to avail himself in his "Montcalm and Wolfe," — not, however, much to his disadvantage, for it does not prove of great value; since, though the writer participated in the war, his account was written many years later, from such notes as he had made at the time.

Mr. Parkman made good use of the despatches of Pedro Menendez, 1565–1566, in one section of his "Pioneers of France in the New World," using copies which Buckingham Smith had procured for him from the Archives of Seville; and these seven letters, together with an English translation, fill the volume labelled "Letters of Pedro Menendez."

The Committee take occasion to make mention of other volumes, which Mr. Parkman has added to this collection since he made his first formal presentation, and which have not yet been enumerated on our records: —

Dupuis, intendant of Canada, his "Mémoire, Troubles du Canada, 1728."

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Papers from Paris called "Archives du ministères des affaires étrangères, 1629–1686," and a second volume, "1714–1755."

Documents relating to the expedition of Jean François de la Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval, and the "Voyage de Roberval au Canada," which constitute a volume lettered "Archives Nationales, 1598–1759," and a second volume, "1698–1735."

Four volumes of papers from the English Public Record Office, of particular interest for students of our New England history, of dates as follows: —

I. 1693–1711, covering the expedition of Sir William Phips and other succeeding events.

II. 1711–1725. Correspondence of Governors Dudley, Shute, Sir Hovenden Walker, etc.

III. 1744–1746. Siege of Louisburg, etc.

IV. 1746–1749. Letters of Governor Shirley, etc.

The Committee beg to propose the following resolution of thanks to Mr. Parkman: —

Resolved, That the grateful thanks of the Society be given to its Vice-President, Mr. Francis Parkman, for the renewed expression of his interest in the Society, by the increase that he has made to the Parkman Collection of Manuscripts, which still further makes clear the sources and conspicuous merit of his historical monographs.

Respectfully submitted,

Justin Winsor.
Henry W. Haynes.
Edward Channing.

December, 1887.

Dr. Clarke addressed the Society in these words: —

I have laid on the table a large Atlas, which I wish to present to this Society. It contains thirty maps of the wars of the French Republic, down to the year VII. (1806). These maps were prepared by the Chief Engineer of the French Army, and include the regions of Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where campaigns had been carried on. They are very full and minute, and are printed in relief, to show the moun-

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tains, valleys, and river-courses of the scenes of war. As a rarity and a curiosity, they should belong to this, or some other Public Library.

I will add a few words, to show how they fell into my hands. They came to me from my father, to whom they were given by his aunt, Mrs. Colonel James Swan, after her return from France. Mrs. Swan was Hepzibah Clarke, and was sister of my grandfather, Samuel Clarke, of Boston. These two were the only children of Barnabas Clarke, who was a ship-master, and afterward a merchant in Boston, living in Bromfield Street, then called Rawson's Lane. A rich bachelor, — Mr. William Dennie, — a friend of the family, had announced his intention of leaving his property to the two children of Barnabas, — Samuel and Hepzibah Clarke. But Samuel displeased him by an early marriage with Miss Martha Curtis, whose father, Obadiah Curtis, lived at the corner of Rawson's Lane and Marlborough Street. So Mr. Dennie left all his property to Hepsy Clarke, who afterward married Colonel James Swan, who had fought in the Revolution, and was by the side of Warren at Bunker Hill. They went to France just before the breaking out of the French Revolution, and remained there during the Reign of Terror. Colonel Swan lost a great deal of his wife's property in some unfortunate speculations; but after their return to America he went back to France and made another fortune, which he remitted to America. In 1815, being about to come home, he was arrested on a charge of debt and sent to Saint-Pelagie, in which prison he remained fifteen years, until the general discharge of such prisoners at the accession of Louis Philippe. He refused to allow his wife to pay the claim, declaring it unjust. She therefore remitted to him yearly a sum ample enough to enable him to live in a handsomely furnished apartment and give dinner-parties in prison to his friends. When set free, the air of liberty seemed to disagree with him, for he died shortly after.

Meantime Mrs. Swan had built the house in Dorchester, which is still standing on the main street from Boston. It is in the style of a French château, with one large circular saloon reaching to the top of the house, and one large dining-room behind it. The rest of the house is in two wings, containing small rooms for the family uses. One room in the

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south wing was the library, filled with French books and French philosophical instruments. Madam Swan herself was very French in her tastes and manners, a brilliant talker, telling innumerable anecdotes of what she saw in France in the days of Robespierre. Once a year our family were invited to pass the day at her house; and I recollect well how I sat on a little stool at her feet, listening with wonder and delight to her eloquent narrations. The saloon and dining-room were furnished with elegant furniture brought from France, consisting of large arm-chairs, heavily gilt andirons, beautiful blue and gold vases; while on the walls were hung rare and valuable French pictures. At dinner Madam Swan would herself open her bottle of rose champagne, and by a dexterous twist of the thumb cause the cork to fly to the ceiling. My visits to her house remain in my memory as one of the most lively impressions of my childhood.

Mrs. Swan built three houses on Chestnut Street for her three daughters, — Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Sullivan, and Mrs. Sargent. One is still occupied by a great-granddaughter; the others have passed into the hands of strangers.

Old age is garrulous in its reminiscences of its youthful years. But you must forgive us this; for what is the use of growing old unless we can thus connect past generations with the present, and help to preserve the continuity of our social life?

Dr. HOLMES added, that with his classmate and friend he had visited that house; and he related one or two incidents connected with it.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN remarked that the "New Princeton Review" for November contained an article by J. Durand, on "American History in the French Archives," in which he found some interesting extracts from the correspondence between Gérard de Rayneval, the first French minister to the United States, in 1778–1779, and Count de Vergennes. Several of these relate to the efforts of the New England delegates, led by Samuel Adams, with the aid of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, to bring on negotiations with Great Britain for peace, without making France a party agreeably to the Treaty of Alliance in 1778. It was feared in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, that New England interests in the Fisheries

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would be sacrificed to French interests; and the other States thought that New England's interests were being pushed without reciprocity. May 14, 1779, De Rayneval says: —

"Whatever opinions on the subject the present members of Congress may entertain, nine, and perhaps ten, States will refuse to continue the war for this accessory advantage to New England, which offers no reciprocity of interests."

And again, June 12, he says that the danger arising from the pressing of the Fishery question by Adams and Lee was lessened by their absence from Congress: —

"Lee has been accused, in open session of the Virginia Assembly, of having sacrificed the best interests of America and of the Alliance, while the storm raised against Samuel Adams in Boston has just compelled him to return there. . . . These two champions find it necessary to change their language on account of public clamor. They are now doing what they can to make it appear that they were eager for peace, and to throw the blame of delays on their antagonists. . . . All the States approve the decision in favor of France."

Samuel Adams's estimate of the value of the Fisheries, and his determination to retain them for New England, are well-known facts, clearly set forth in Wells's Life of him;[1] and though he had made some powerful enemies in Boston, it was not on account of his opinions on those matters. Doubtless there were those, especially in the country towns, who did not entertain his extreme views, and were unwilling to insist upon the Fisheries as conditions of peace. To bring these towns into line was his purpose; and to that end he used his favorite agency, — the town meeting.

At a town meeting in Boston, Dec. 11, 1781, not many weeks after the capitulation of Cornwallis, instructions were voted to the Boston representatives to the General Court elect, of which the concluding paragraph is as follows: —

"From these considerations, Gentlemen, we instruct and direct you, in the approaching sessions of the legislature of this Commonwealth to move for, and to use your influence to procure an application to Congress, that they would give positive instructions to their Commissioners for negotiating a peace, to make the right of the United States to the FISHERY *an indispensable Article of Treaty.*"

[1] Vol. iii. p. 151.

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With a printed letter, dated December 14, William Cooper, the Town Clerk of Boston, sent these instructions to all the towns of the Commonwealth, and requested that they would take them into consideration. He also expressed a hope of their concurrence.

These documents are printed in full. Samuel Adams's name nowhere appears in them; but the original draft of the circular, in his hand, now in my possession, and the internal evidence found in both papers, leave no doubt as to their authorship.

Gentlemen, — The Inhabitants of the Town of BOSTON, legally assembled, have taken into consideration a matter which they conceive all other maritime Towns in this and the neighboring States are equally, and some of them more nearly interested than they. It is the subject of the Fishery, and the great importance of a common right therein being secured to the United States, whenever a Treaty of Peace shall be concluded. To flatter ourselves with so happy a prospect, so far as to neglect the necessary preparations for another vigorous campaign, would indeed be unbecoming the wisdom of Americans; and yet, so important has been the success of the allied Arms, the last year, that it would seem to be madness in the extreme for Britain any longer to persist in her unrighteous claims. But wisdom has forsaken her councils.

We ought to presume, that the supreme Representative of these States will have an equal regard in so momentous a crisis to the rights of each individual. We would not suggest the contrary. But, may it not be supposed, that persons whose situation is remote from the Fishery, and who derive advantages from it in its more distant effects and not directly perceivable, are probably not so attentive to its unspeakable importance, as others who are immediately concerned, and depend upon it as the only source of Commerce and even their Subsistence? If this should be the fact, would not States so immediately interested in the Fishery as ours, be justly criminated by the others, if we should neglect seasonably to lay before them our own sense of the necessity of an express article in a Treaty of Peace for its security? Should we not be wanting to ourselves in a most essential point, and be chargeable by all posterity, with sacrificing our and their invaluable Rights, by unpardonable carelessness? Such is the sentiment of this Town. And though we would be far from obtruding this or any sentiment of ours upon others, we cannot but think ourselves justifiable in candidly recommending it to their serious deliberation.

This Town have judged it necessary to instruct their Representatives in the General Court on the subject. The instructions are inclos'd.

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Many other and cogent reasons might have been urged, and will undoubtedly be made use of by you, if you should think it proper to take the matter into your consideration. Should we be so fortunate as to have your full concurrence in opinion with us, we assure ourselves that we shall be equally fortunate in the aid we shall receive from your concurrent exertions.

In the Name and by Order of the Town of BOSTON, *in Meeting legally assembled*, December 14, 1781.

WILLIAM COOPER *Town-Clerk.*

AT a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of *Boston*, duly qualified and legally warned, in public Town Meeting assembled at *Faneuil* Hall, *December* 11, 1781.

VOTED, That the following INSTRUCTIONS be given to the Gentlemen who represent the Town in the General Court, *viz.*

GENTLEMEN, — The brilliant Successes, which have attended the Allied Arms through the course of the preceding campaign, afford us the most flattering prospect that our enemies (though hitherto obstinate to a degree of infatuation) will soon sue for peace. — In the conditions of that peace, your constituents feel themselves as deeply and immediately interested as any part of the powers at war; but from an equal desire to promote the general welfare of the Federal Republic, and the safety and happiness of this Commonwealth, they think it their duty to open to you their sentiments, on the importance of that principal branch of the Eastern Trade, the *Fishery*, and the necessity of confirming a right to it, by an express article of the Treaty of Peace.

The present decayed state of a number of our maritime towns, contrasted with their flourishing situations previous to the present contest, is a striking proof, not only of the Advantages of the Fishery to the commercial part of the Commonwealth, but the immediate ruin that follows the want of it; and if any of their sister towns can boast more eligible circumstances, their riches are derived from a source which is but temporary, and will last only [for] the war. The stagnation of the Fishery furnished us with the means of cruising against the enemy's property, and 'tis to the astonishing successes that have hitherto attended to that kind of enterprise, that we owe the principal part of our present trade. — And though the merchants of some of our sea-ports have lately made considerable importations from the different European markets, yet 'tis from a source not more lasting than the other, that they derive their ability to do it. The introduction of foreign armies and navies amongst us, has created great demands for our internal supplies; those supplies have furnished our merchants with exchange, and enabled them to make large remittances.

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In addition to which the exportation of gold and silver, during the paper currency, has constituted no inconsiderable part of the balance of our trade. But it is obvious to the eye of every one, that these resources of our wealth must inevitably fail with the war: — And in a time of peace, like all other Nations, we must depend only upon the staple commodities of our own country, for the support of our commerce. — These commodities, exclusive of the Fishery, will consist only of Lumber, and a small quantity of Inland Provisions. These articles were never supposed more than sufficient to balance our West-India importations; for every European article of consumption therefore (which was formerly paid for by our fish and oyl) the trade must be in debt. How fast that debt will accumulate, and how long it will take to ruin the trade, and impoverish the country, may be seen by the calculations of the merchants of this Town in the year 1769, by which it appears that upwards of 400 vessels were constantly employed in the Fishery, and the annual profits of their labour amounted to upwards of £160,000 sterling; the whole of this was remitted to Great Britain for payment of the merchandizes annually imported from that island: — It therefore follows, that without this staple we must either content ourselves to forego the use of all European commodities or become mere carriers to the rest of the world; the former from habit is become impracticable; and the latter is too mortifying to submit to, and too inconsiderable in its prospects to be considered as an equivalent.

It is hence also easy to conceive (though we apprehend needless to urge) of how vast an importance the preservation of this trade is to any other part of the Commonwealth. — The various mechanics, necessarily employed in the building, rigging and fitting out such a number of vessels, must without it be destitute of subsistence: And the great quantities of provisions, expended by our fishermen, and the timber made use of in building the vessels, together with the staves, hoops, &c., made use of in the exportation of the fish and oil, will convince us, that the loss of the Fishery must essentially affect our inland brethren: — And, without urging the more remote argument, that the wealth and strength of every nation depends on the prosperity of its commerce, it is evident, that the vast debt we have found it necessary to contract in the present war, together with all the public taxes we may hereafter be obliged to raise, on the failure of the Trade, or in proportion to its diminution, must inevitably fall on the Landed Interest: — And when they consider, what a great part of the public taxes is paid in the mercantile Towns, and that the Country are in a great measure enabled to pay their proportion of them by vending their produce in the Sea-ports, it is clear, that upon the depopulation of the maritime, and the additional weight of taxes on the country towns, which must follow the loss of our trade, the burden will be to them intolerable.

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But the reasons need not be local. For though the inhabitants of the other States are not so immediately affected by the Loss of the Fishery, yet we conceive it not less important to the whole confederacy, than to us, in its political consequences. — Their future rank among the Nations of the Earth will depend on their *Naval Strength;* and if they mean to be a commercial people, it behoves them to be able at all times to *protect* their commerce: The means by which they can procure that protection and naval strength, is to give encouragement to that kind of trade among themselves, which will best serve as a nursery for seamen. — The importance of the Fishery in this view is obvious from the valuable acquisitions made in the beginning of the war by our privateers, seven eighths of which were manned from this source: — And though from this circumstance our enemies, open and secret, have endeavored to alarm the other States of the Union with an idea, that the possession of the Fishery will give a dangerous superiority of strength to the Eastern States, and so have attempted to disunite us in the claim of it; yet we are confident, their wicked designs must prove abortive, when 'tis considered, that (if we were disposed to be a faithless and a treacherous people) our necessities for the use of the Southern commodities, and the advantages we shall derive by a circuitous trade from their ports to foreign markets, will forever make it the *Interest* of the Eastern States to preserve the Confederation perpetual; and will always be security to the Southern States against the abuse of any superiority of strength, which the Fishery may be supposed to give us.

Should it be said, that the Right we claim, is a Right common to all nations, and that we shall therefore be entitled to the use of it, whether it is made an express article of Treaty or not: We answer, that it can injure no Power to confirm our *natural* rights by express acknowledgment, if they honestly intend we shall enjoy them; and if they decline making this acknowledgment, it is a just cause of suspicion, that their intentions are not honest. — But we know the haughty Kingdom with whom we are at war; and her annals furnish us with instances of her Sovereign's claiming by solemn acts, the empire of the seas, and setting bounds to other independent nations in the use of that element, to which by the laws of nature they had an equal title. And *France* herself (now the greatest naval Power upon earth) has found it necessary to be admitted *by Treaty* to the participation of that very right, for which we now contend. And why should we imagine, that Great-Britain will be more tender of the natural rights of the United States, than she has been of those of other nations, who were infinitely better able to resist her unlawful claims upon the ocean. On the contrary, have we not every reason to expect, that her resentment, heightened by disappointment will induce her to revenge herself on the States, as soon as a con-

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venient opportunity presents itself; and unless this right is guaranteed to us by the negotiating powers, she will undoubtedly make this the cause of her quarrel: and the instant she attacks on this pretence, the whole Confederacy must be involved in a war; — for the Fishery having been uninterruptedly enjoyed by our Ancestors from time immemorial, and secured to them by charter, is an ancient privilege and one of those liberties, for the security of which, that firm league of friendship was entered into by the Thirteen States, so clearly stipulated in the third article of their confederation. — It is therefore the duty, seconded by the clearest interest of every State within the Federal Union, to have this right explicitly acknowledged in the treaty of peace, as the only means of securing to themselves a lasting and a happy one.

From these considerations, Gentlemen, we instruct and direct you, in the approaching sessions of the legislature of this Commonwealth, to move for, and to use your influence to procure an application to Congress, that they would give positive instructions to their Commissioners for negotiating a peace to make the right of the United States to the FISHERY *an indispensable article of treaty.*

On motion of the Treasurer, Mr. C. C. SMITH, it was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the year ending Sept. 30, 1887, be placed at the credit of the Committee for publishing the "Trumbull Papers."

Mr. Edwin P. Seaver, Superintendent of Schools in Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and the Hon. Carl Schurz, of New York, was chosen an Honorary Member.

An excellent crayon likeness of Mr. George Dexter, the late lamented Recording Secretary of the Society, which had been drawn by Otto Grundmann, head teacher in the Art School at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, was placed on exhibition at this meeting.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1888.

THE stated meeting was held on the 12th instant, and the Rev. Dr. ELLIS occupied the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The accessions by gift to the Library during the month were reported by the Librarian.

The President communicated a letter which had come into his possession, and was dated "Litchfield, Oct. 30, 1808," in which the writer speaks in the highest terms of Yale College and of the Litchfield Law School.

Mr. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL presented for the Cabinet a small engraving commemorative of the death of Washington, found by Lord Arthur Russell, M.P., in a laborer's cottage in Surrey. As it was published in London, it seemed to him of enough interest, showing as it does the respect felt for Washington by a portion at least of the people of England, to be added to the other Washington relics now in the possession of the Society. The design represents an obelisk inscribed with Washington's name upon it, beside which stands a figure of Freedom with the American flag and the Cap of Liberty.

Professor HAYNES communicated the following paper upon Apocryphal Runic Inscriptions: —

A newspaper report of a recent lecture upon "Prehistoric Maine," by a distinguished antiquary of that State, has called to mind the outcome of a previous attempt to establish by archæological evidence the truth of the alleged early visits of the Northmen to the shores of New England.

At a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in the year 1856, Dr. A. C. Hamlin, of Bangor, Maine, called attention to a supposed Runic inscription, of which he exhibited a cast, that is to be found upon a ledge on the little islet of Menana, which lies a cable's length to the

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south of the island of Monhegan, off the coast of Maine.[1] Dr. Hamlin regarded this inscription as the work of "some illiterate Scandinavian," with a very imperfect knowledge of the Runic characters. But he proceeded to argue in favor of Merry-meeting Bay, in the neighborhood of the island of Monhegan, rather than of any spot to the south of Cape Cod, as having been the locality of Leif Ericson's station in Vinland. Dr. Hamlin's account of the inscription was duly copied by Mr. Schoolcraft into his voluminous description of the Indian tribes of the United States, where it is illustrated by a fac-simile of the inscription, and a steel engraving representing it in its true position upon the island.[2] Shortly afterwards Dr. Hamlin forwarded a copy and a cast of the inscription to the Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, with the hope of obtaining from them some light upon its signification. That learned body, however, made no attempt at interpreting it, although they admitted its genuineness, and reproduced it in handsome Runic characters, together with an engraving of the locality where it is to be found, differing from that in Schoolcraft's work.[3] After this, interest in the inscription seems to have gradually died out; and Dr. Daniel Wilson even ventured the suggestion that possibly it might be only a natural formation in the rock.[4] And such, after all, turns out to be the case.

In the summer of 1885 Mr. G. H. Stone, of Portland, Maine, published the results of a careful study of the inscription, made on the spot. He says: —

"When one first sees the inscription rock, he cannot fail to notice that the appearance is as if a tablet had been prepared upon the surface of the rock, not horizontally, but obliquely. There are two parallel furrows about one-half an inch deep, and eight inches apart; and the so-called letters are on this 'tablet.' . . . Examination shows that this apparent tablet is simply the exposed edge of a fine-grained vein, which penetrates the coarser grained rock obliquely. . . . The parallel furrows, which inclose the so-called inscription tablet, are simply furrows of weathering at the sides of the vein. The supposed letters are com-

[1] Proc. of the Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, 1856, part ii. p. 214. Proc. of Am. Academy of Arts and Sciences, May 28, 1851, vol. ii. p. 267.

[2] Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. vi. p. 610, pl. 50.

[3] Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, May 14, 1859.

[4] Prehistoric Man, vol. ii. p. 99.

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posed of straight furrows intersecting each other obliquely, so that most of them are some modification of the letters V and X. . . . At the base of the furrows I invariably found a crack in the rock, though sometimes not readily without the aid of a magnifier. There are two systems of these joints, — one nearly vertical, the other nearly at right angles to the sides of the vein. Nearly all the furrows forming the supposed inscription belong to these two systems of joints. . . . Most of the joints are filled with a film of oxide of iron. . . . It is evident that the 'inscription' is a freak of surface erosion. The furrows are the result of weathering along joints." [1]

It is singular what a striking resemblance the story of the Monhegan inscription bears to that of the famous Rock of Runamo, in Sweden, which created quite a commotion among the Scandinavian antiquaries and men of science several years ago.

Saxo Grammaticus, a learned antiquary and historian who flourished in the twelfth century, relates, in his history of Denmark, that King Waldemar I., his contemporary, who was also distinguished for his interest in antiquarian studies, had made an ineffectual attempt to have a supposed inscription copied and deciphered, that was to be found upon a rocky footpath which runs by the sea-shore near the village of Hoby, in the south-eastern part of Sweden.[2] Müller, one of the latest editors of Saxo's work, in a note upon this passage, says that "in a spot overgrown with trees and bushes, called by the inhabitants Runamo, there are to be seen on the ground two parallel lines, resembling a serpent in shape, and about sixty-eight feet in length. These lines inclose a space filled with a black rock, different in character from the mass of the rock of which it forms a part. In this black rock there occur numerous holes and fissures; but whether they have been caused by the forces of nature, or by the hand of man, can scarcely be determined at the present day." [3] But in a subsequent note, Velschow, who completed the edition after Müller's death, states that, in order to have the question settled, if possible, Müller proposed to the Royal Danish Scientific Society, in 1832, to appoint a special commission of three learned men to investigate the question

[1] Science, vol. vi. p. 124.

[2] Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica (edit. Müller et Velschow), vol. i. pt. i. praef. p 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, note 7.

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afresh, and to have a new delineation of the rock made.[1] This was done; and a mineralogist, Forchhammer, was appointed upon it. He made a report, stating that there were two kinds of fissures, some natural and some artificial; and he had two drawings executed, — one exhibiting all the fissures as they now exist, the other showing the artificial markings by stronger lines. These latter Finn Magnussen, another member of the commission, who enjoyed a well-merited reputation for his knowledge of Runic inscriptions, unhesitatingly pronounced to be Runic characters, but declared himself to be unable to determine their signification. After puzzling over them for ten months, it occurred to him to reverse the customary method of reading Runes from left to right, and to try what he could make of them by attacking them from right to left. In two hours' time all became as clear as daylight. There came out a metrical inscription, written in alliterative verse. It contained a prayer to Odin and the other gods for victory for the Danish king, Harold Hildetand, in his struggle with Sigurd Ring, King of Sweden. This was the famous battle of Bravalla (Brarwel), about A. D. 776, in which Harold fell. But alas for so much learning wasted! In 1838 the eminent Swedish chemist, Berzelius, visited the locality, and after due examination pronounced all those fissures to be natural forms, which Forchhammer had called the work of man. The latter replied in a second publication, maintaining his former position; and other physicists took part in the strife. But in 1841 Sven Nilsson, the father of Prehistoric Archæology, gave in his assent to Berzelius's conclusions; and three years afterwards the late eminent authority upon Northern antiquities, J. J. A. Worsaae, after a long and patient investigation, and a new delineation of the rock, concurred in this view.[2]

This settled the question of the Rock of Runamo, in the minds of European scholars; but in a work published in this country more than twenty years subsequently, I observe that the author of the article upon "Runes" still refers to it as a genuine inscription.[3]

Let me conclude with a brief notice of a Runic inscription

[1] Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica (edit. Müller et Velschow), vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] Bibliographie de l'Archéologie Préhistorique de la Suède pendant le xix. siècle, nos. 38, 41, 59, 68, 79, 83–86. Cf. an article by Charles Rau in "The American Antiquarian," vol. i. p. 89.

[3] The New American Cyclopædia, *sub voce*.

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of quite a different character, reported to have been discovered in this country some years ago.

In the "New York Weekly Tribune" of Jan. 31, 1867, there appeared an article, copied from the "Washington Union," containing an account of a remarkable discovery that had just been made in the neighborhood of Washington, D. C. An inscription in Runic characters, overgrown by moss, had been found cut upon a huge rock, that marked the site of an ancient grave, under the shadow of a venerable pine. The site was at a short distance below the Falls of the Potomac. In the grave were discovered three teeth and a fragment of bone, which crumbled to powder when exposed to the air, and also three shapeless bronze objects, and two coins of the Lower Empire of the tenth century. All these objects were said to be deposited in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. The fortunate discoverers were Professor Lesqueraux the geologist, Professor Brand of Washington, and Dr. Boyce of Boston. When deciphered, the inscription consisted of six verses, reading as follows: —

"Here lies Syasi, the Blonde,
Of East Iceland;
Widow of Holdr,
Sister of Thorgr, by her father . . .
Aged twenty-five years.
God rest her soul. 1051."

This wonderful story was duly copied into "Le Tour du Monde," and. was eagerly accepted by certain European scholars interested in the study of American antiquities, by whom it was given a prominent place among the proofs, drawn from the Icelandic sagas principally, of the visits of the Northmen to this country in the eleventh century.[1] Naturally, it was at once recognized by historical students in the United States as one of those elaborate hoaxes which have gained for us such an unenviable notoriety; and very soon the perpetrator was discovered. He was a clerk in one of the administrative departments in Washington, who had actually gone to the pains of cutting the characters upon the stones where they were discovered.[2]

[1] Gaffarel, Étude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Columb, Paris, 1869, p. 251. Gravier, Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au x^e siècle, Paris, 1874, p. 137.

[2] Prof. Joseph Henry, in Historical Magazine, March, 1869, 2d ser. vol. v. p. 177.

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Mr. WINSOR referred to a statement which he made at the meeting in October about a manuscript map supposed or represented to have been drawn by Franklin and Hartley in 1783, and to have defined the bounds between the United States and Canada at the conclusion of the peace. Since Mr. Winsor made that statement he has tracked the map, and now has it in his possession, it having been sent to him for temporary use by Mr. L. Z. Leiter, of Washington, its present owner. It proves to have no connection whatever with the treaty of peace; but to be simply a plotting out of the proposed new States between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, as planned in Jefferson's inoperative Ordinance of 1784, the precursor of the established Ordinance of 1787. Being found among Hartley's papers, it was probably sent to him by some one in America, if not by Franklin from Paris, though the script on the map is not in Franklin's handwriting. Washington speaks of the proposed new divisions, in which he is known to have been interested, as a project practically assured of being carried out; and it may not be generally known that a map was engraved for Francis Bailey's "Pocket Almanac" for 1785, showing the divisions, and bearing the outlandish names which Jefferson, in his vagary, attached to ten of its States, — names which have been much laughed at since. Bailey's plate was used again in an "Introduction to the History of America, designed to instruct American youth in the elements of the history of their own country, with a correct map of the United States," which was published at Philadelphia in 1787. The name of the engraver, H. D. Pursell, is retained on the plate; but the original publisher's name is removed. The book is said, in a manuscript addition to the title on the copy in Harvard College Library, to have been written by John McCulloch. The map was reengraved in Germany, even to the American eagle and the United States shield in one corner of it; and this last representation is found in Johann David Schöpf's "Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten" (Erlangen, 1788).

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP read a letter which he had received from John McClellan, First Lieutenant of the Fifth Artillery, and dated "Fortress Monroe, Va.," in which he speaks of a valuable letter of Washington, written to Patrick Henry, offering to him the position of Secretary of State. This letter has never been published; and the owner would like to

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dispose of it, together with a hundred others of a miscellaneous character, and nearly three hundred autographs. The price asked for the whole collection is $2,000, and for the Washington letter alone, $500.

Mr. FOOTE exhibited an etching of Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, which was taken from the painting by Copley in possession of Christ Church College, Oxford. No portrait of the Governor has been known by antiquaries here to exist; and a descendant in England directed attention to this one, and a copy of it was obtained through the kind offices of the Librarian of the Bodleian. When the Library of Harvard College was burned, Jan. 24, 1764, the Governor and Council occupied it (on account of the small-pox being in Boston), while the Representatives met in the room below. Inasmuch as the fire took place while the building was thus occupied, the Governor called upon the Legislature to replace it; and a grant of money accordingly was made, the Governor himself subscribing for this purpose, besides giving more than three hundred volumes, as well as his own portrait, which was probably painted in 1765.

Mr. ADAMS said: —

I have in my hand a letter from my grandfather, President J. Q. Adams, which has recently come into my possession. It has a certain value in connection with incidents in the history of Boston at the time it was written. Apart from any personal interest which may attach to it, it seems therefore properly to belong to this Society.

At the time it was written Mr. Adams was in his twenty-fifth year. He was practising law in the town of Boston, having been admitted to the bar the previous year. His father was at Philadelphia, serving as Vice-President during the first administration of Washington. The letter was written to Thomas Boylston Adams, a younger brother of J. Q. Adams, who was with his father. It has since, through very nearly a whole century, been in the possession of the children of Thomas Boylston Adams, one of whom, Miss E. C. Adams, now herself almost an octogenarian, recently came across it among other old papers, and sent it to me. In my turn I give it to the Society; and trust that it may, on

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account of its historical interest, find a place in full in our Proceedings.

BOSTON, February 1st, 1792.

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I have been for more than three weeks indebted to you for two very agreeable Letters, which Mr. Otis brought from you. They would not have remained so long unanswered but for a variety of circumstances which have concurred to engross all my time during that period. It is possible that you may have observed in the Centinel about a month since, that a Committee of 21 inhabitants of this Town was chosen in town-meeting, to report to the town what measures it might be proper to take in order to reform the present state of the police of the town; and you may have noticed that my name was among those of several of the most respectable characters in this Town upon that Committee; if you read the Centinels in course as they arrive, you must have seen that this Committee reported a certain plan, which after being debated in Town meeting for three days was finally rejected by the votes of 700 men against more than 500 who were in favor of its adoption. If you have noticed all these circumstances, it is probable you may feel some degree of curiosity to know something further upon the subject: You will perhaps wish to be informed what it is, that has thus agitated the whole town of Boston these five or six weeks, how it happened that I was placed upon this same Committee, and why the report was rejected — I will tell you, at the risque of fatiguing you with a tedious narration, which you may throw aside if it should become intolerable.

The Government of this town, in its corporate capacity, like that of all the other Towns in this Commonwealth, is a pure democracy; all the affairs of the town are transacted by the inhabitants in town meeting assembled, or by committees appointed by them; excepting certain powers which are vested in the Select-men, and which are very immaterial. The by-laws of the corporation are supposed to be enacted by the whole body of the people, and to be put in force by trials before Justices of the Peace. — In consequence of this system, the fact is, that no by-laws are enforced at all, and the inhabitants are subjected to various inconveniences, for the want of some internal regulation. Several attempts have been heretofore made to introduce a reformation, and to induce the inhabitants to request for a City charter. Those attempts have always been ineffectual, and the inconveniences have continued. About 6 weeks since, a town meeting was called, where after a debate upon the subject, in which the objects to be reformed were fully laid open and explained, the Committee, which I have already mentioned, were chosen. — It was a subject upon which I felt altogether uninterested, having been so short a time an inhabitant of the Town, and suffering personally very little from the inconveniences which had

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occasioned the complaints from whence that town-meeting resulted. I happened however quite accidentally to be present at the meeting and was nominated by Dr. Jarvis, to be a member of the Committee, and was accordingly chosen. He was indeed the last man in this town from whom I should have expected such a nomination, and I cannot very readily account for his motives. Dr. Welsh asked him what his object was; and he answered, "that this Country were under great obligations to my father, and he thought it very proper that some notice should be taken of his Son; that he observed I generally attended the town-meetings, and appeared to interest myself in the affairs of the town; that I was a sensible young man" (excuse the vanity of the relation) "and he wished to hear my sentiments upon this subject." — I mention these circumstances because it will I believe, be somewhat surprising to your father, as it was to myself, that the first public notice ever shown me by the town of Boston should proceed from the nomination of Dr. Jarvis. I may now proceed to the transaction of the business itself. — The Committee met several times, and after discussing the subject amply and deliberating with great coolness and harmony agreed upon the plan which was proposed, and which you have perhaps read. The agreement was unanimous, with one exception, which was Mr. B. Austin, commonly called Honestus; he set his face against the reform from the beginning and did not agree to one article of the report. All the rest, though many of them differing widely as the poles, in most of their political sentiments, were fully agreed upon this point. When the report was debated in town-meeting Austin opposed it with the utmost degree of vehemence and absurdity. "It was to destroy the liberties of the people; it was a resignation of the *sovereignty* of the town; it was a link in the chain of Aristocratic influence; it was intended in its operation to throw the whole burden of taxation upon the poor." In short his speeches were such a farrago of nonsense and folly that it was hardly possible to imagine they could have any effect at all. On the other hand, Sullivan and Jarvis and Otis with several other Gentlemen argued the whole subject over and over with more popular eloquence than I ever saw exhibited upon any other occasion; yet upon the final Question, the result was as I have stated, seven hundred men, who looked as if they had been collected from all the Jails on the continent, with Ben. Austin like another Jack Cade, at their head outvoted by their numbers all the combined weight and influence of Wealth of Abilities and of Integrity, of the whole Town. — From the whole Event I have derived some instruction, and above all a confirmation of my abhorrence and contempt of simple democracy as a Government; but I took no part in the debate. — It was indeed a very good opportunity, that was offered me, of opening a political career, especially as I had been put upon the Committee; but for a variety of

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reasons I chose at least to postpone to some future period, my appearance as a speaker in town meeting; the principal of which was a want of confidence in myself, which operated most forcibly upon me. I hope, however, the time will come, when I shall not be so much oppressed by my diffidence.

But the sequel of the story is no less curious than the rest. The day after the question was decided, Russell the printer demanded of Austin, in the public street, satisfaction, for a personal insult he had received from him at the town-meeting; and upon Austin's refusing to give satisfaction, Russell treated him with every possible indignity, and gave him a severe corporeal bruising: upon which Austin spread abroad that Russell was the mere instrument of *aristocratic* revenge, and that he did not act from resentment for his own injury, but at the instigation of a few rich men, who were enraged at seeing the success with which he had advocated the cause of *the people.* — And such was the obsequious servility of his rabble, that in consequence of this suggestion, several hundreds of them assembled the same evening; threatened to pull down Russell's printing office, and the houses of the *aristocrats* who wished to enslave the people, and actually paraded the streets with clubs, and with violent menaces for two or three hours: however they did no real mischief, and the matter seems now to have blown over pretty generally; though the partizans on both sides are still warm and ready to quarrel. I have from the beginning taken the part of a spectator rather than that of an actor in the scene, and I think the whole affair has given me some additional knowledge of human nature.

The present is quite a busy time in our political world; there are several other subjects upon which I could write you other letters as long and as tedious as this; but I must reserve some of my information for your father, to whom I am ashamed not to have written this long time. I intend soon to give him some account of another occurrence, which has made not a little political agitation in our atmosphere.

I have not much more to say to you respecting myself. Our Court of Common Pleas have sat again since I wrote you; I argued one more cause, and was successful. I gain my causes, but I get no business; that is at as low an ebb as ever, but I am tolerably habituated to the lot, and say, with Ancient Pistol, "si fortuna me tormenta, il sperare me contenta."

The Petition from the North Parish in Braintree is hitherto successful. The Committee of the General Court before whom I mentioned to you our having argued the point, reported in favour of the petitioners: the bill for incorporating the town of *Quincy*, has past the Senate and is now before the House of Representatives. Hichborn has been indefatigable in his opposition to the business in every stage of it, but has

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not yet been able to defeat us. — The Question will not be finally decided till next week.

Mr. Cranch has been in town about a fortnight upon this affair, and attending the Court of Common Pleas. He has recovered to all appearance from his sickness, though he does not look so healthy, or in such spirits, as he was wont. Our other friends are all well.

Your brother, J. Q. ADAMS.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., called attention to the fact that in May, 1880, the Society had agreed to have carefully arranged by an expert, and bound in a separate volume, for permanent preservation, a collection of sixty-eight manuscripts of great value, chiefly in the handwriting of Governor John Winthrop the elder, and bearing dates from 1620 to 1648, which had then recently been presented to the Society by Colonel William Woolsey Winthrop, U. S. A., and his two sisters. By some forgetfulness, no steps were taken in the matter; and after the lapse of nearly eight years, the papers have recently come to light in their original package. On motion of Mr. Winthrop, it was therefore voted that the income of the William Winthrop Binding Fund, or such portion of it as may be necessary, shall be set aside for the purpose of suitably binding these manuscripts; and that Mr. Smith, Judge Chamberlain, and Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., be a committee to superintend their arrangement.

Mr. WINSOR alluded to the different ways in which lawyers and historical writers look at the same topic, as illustrated in a recent pamphlet which he had received; and Mr. HILL made further remarks upon the subject.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1888.

THE regular meeting of the Society took place on the 9th instant.

The Recording Secretary read his usual record, and the Librarian made his customary report.

The Cabinet-keeper announced the receipt of a fine etching of Governor Francis Bernard, from the Rev. H. W. Foote.

The President, Dr. ELLIS, referred to the recent commemoration by the New England Historic, Genealogical Society of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the Massachusetts Convention in 1788, and to the admirable address of Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP alluded to the fact that Governor Bowdoin, his great-grandfather, was a member of the Convention; and he read an extract from a letter from Pelatiah Webster to the latter, dated "Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1787," in which he speaks of the objections that were made to the adoption of the Constitution, and the answers given to them, and says that the subject was then engrossing the attention of all the United States, and was really of the most essential consequence to them all. Mr. Winthrop thought that more justice should be done to the mechanics of Boston, who, with Paul Revere as their leader, held a meeting at the "Green Dragon," and adopted most emphatic resolutions, and carried them to Hancock and Adams. These were the hinge on which the adoption of the Constitution really turned. When Sam Adams was asked how many persons attended the meeting, he replied, "More than the stars of the sky." Mr. Winthrop gave many interesting circumstances in connection with the subject; and when he sat down there was a spontaneous outburst of applause.

Mr. GOODELL, Dr. EVERETT, and Dr. ELLIS made additional remarks upon the topic.

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Mr. WINSOR presented a letter from Mr. Charles R. King respecting the papers of Rufus King, which for the most part have not been presented to the public. A few letters from them, written by Alexander Hamilton, George Cabot, and Count Rumford, have alone been published.

Mr. WINSOR also drew attention to a communication of certain letters of Washington in the last number of the "Magazine of American History," taken from the "Bouquet Papers" preserved in the British Museum, and printed in parallel columns with the text of the same letters as given in Sparks's second volume, in a way to show what the contributor called the license of Sparks in editing the papers. It so happened that Sparks's preface to the same volume explains how he was obliged to print — not having access to the originals, not indeed knowing them to be preserved — from the letter-books of Washington, in which Washington revised his early draughts thirty years after the originals were sent to his correspondent. Mr. Winsor instanced the publication as involving an unmerited attack on a distinguished historical scholar, who in his justly criticised and acknowledged shortcomings affords too much ground for animadversion to be held responsible for deficiencies not his own.

Dr. GREEN communicated copies of the following letters in the Society's Library, which contain interesting facts in regard to the church history of Nova Scotia. They relate to the dissenting ministers of an early period, of whom several were from New England, and graduates of Harvard. They furnish a glimpse of pioneer missionary work in that Province, which is not found elsewhere. The original manuscripts were given by Mr. John Fleet Eliot at the July meeting of 1865, and are now found in the volume marked "Andrews and Eliot Letters. 1662–1811."

To the Rev,d pasters And Christian Brethen of the Several Discenting Churches in Boston in the Massechusets-Bay In Newengland And in the towns Adjacent &c.

The Memorial of the Con-gregational Church in Cornwallis in the County of Kings County in the province Of Novascotia . . .

Whereas God in his providence who orders the bounds of the Habitation of his people, after previously Removeing our Enemies, planted us in this Infant Colony (in the year 1760) and after our Continueing

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five years Destitute of a minister of the Gosple: by application to the South Association in Hartford County in the Colony Of Connecticut, we obtain'd one: (viz) the Rev'd Benajah phelps, who Came to us ordain'd to the work of the ministry, and well Recommended (by Said Association) who after one years Continuance with us on probation took the pastoral Charge of us to our General Satisfaction. At which time We were in Circumstances to Afford him A Comfortable Maintainance, being a time of prosperity with us.

But the two years past things have taken A Different turn: the produce of our Village being much Cut Short, which occasioned So Great A Scarcity Among us, that we had not last Spring a Sufficiancy of grain in town to Seed our Lands. And our Straits had Necessarily Increast to Extremity through our Inebility to purchace Seed, had not god Inclined the hearts of Some of our Father-Like Friends at Hallifax to Relive us By procureing us Seed At A Neighbouring Town, the produce of which hath well Answer'd our Expectations. Yet Notwithstanding the plenty this Year hath produced Among us, And our Numbers Which Consists of 133 familys (Not 10 of which of the Establish'd Church) And between Eight & Nine hundred Souls: Our Lands also Good and Fertile: what by Means of the Late Distressing Scarcity, And the present Extraordinary Expences on our Dikes, Building A Meeting-house &c together with our necessary Expence For Clothing before we Could put our Selves in a way to make Any Proficiancy in Mannifacturing our wooling, hath Involved us so far In Debt to our traders, that but very fue of us have Any produce By which we Can Relive our minister Under his present needy Circumstances, And without Some Relief from Some other Quarter, Our Said Minister Cannot Continue much Longer with us which if after a Seperation from the Society And Communion of our Christian friends in Newengland, And five years Continuance without any previlege of Gosple Administrations (According to our profession) Notwithstanding our many indeavours In that time to have them Established Among us, And the Expence Of Settleing A Minister Building A meeting house &c We Say if After All this we Should be Left Destitute of Gosple Administrations by Neglecting to petition the Aid Of Such of our Christian Brethren As Are Able to Afford us Relief at So Critickle A Junctur as this, We Should be both wanting to Our Selves and posterity, And the Cause of Religeon among us, And be Reduced to A Worse Condition than At Our first Settleing.

For As there is Now A Church in Building in this town And A Church minister provided free of any Expence to all proselites (viz the Rev,d Mr Eagle-Stone from Ireland, who First Appear,d here As A presbeterian, hath ben home for, And Last Spring Returnd with Orders) And Several of the More Loose And Unstable of our people have already

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gone Over to them. And the Door is open for many more: and If we now part with our Minister (who Seams willing to tarry with us on very modirate terms) we of Concequence In A Few years Shall all be Churchmen or Nothing (ie) in point of Religion, as it Seams we Shall be in no Condition to Recettle Another Minister. And if our Circumstances] As here truly Represented: Clame Any Interest in your Pity And prayers, we trust you will Not be forgetfull of us: Nor Refuse to Contribute to our Relief, if you Judge the Nature and Circumstance of the Matter Require it.

It is Recommended that Any Donations for the Relief of our Rev,d Paster be paid into the hands of the Rev,d Andrew Elliot of Boston, and By him Remitted to Mallachi Salter Esq.r of hallifax by whome your Liberallity will be brought Safe to hand. your Complyance Will be Greatfully Acknowledged by us your Memoriallists, and the Interest of Religeon May be greatly Serv'd.

Cornwallis November 8th 1769

Samuel Beckwith
Caleb huntington
Isaac Bigalow
John Newcomb
Hezekiah Cogswell
Elkanah Morton Jun.r

} as Com.tt For the chh & congregation

To The Rev,d M.r Andrew Elliot In Boston in Newengland.

Halifax January 18th 1770.

Rev.d Sir's We were yesterday favor'd with the receipt of your Letter of the 12th December, and agreeable to your request, shall now furnish you with the best Accounts we are able to collect, of the Circumstances, of the Dissenting Clergy, and their Congregations, within this Province.

We have in all Eight dissenting Clergymen, settled here. Six of whom are Congregationalists, Viz.t The Rev.d M.r Wood Cheever, Seccomb, Moor, Phelps & Gannet, and two are Presbyterian Viz.t M.r Murdoch, & M.r Lyon.

The Rev.d M.r Wood at *Barrington*, came from New Engl.d We can't learn that he has any Establish'd Salary, but that his people (yet in low Circumstances) are able to afford him but a scanty support.

The Rev.d M.r Cheever [1] at *Liverpool* is also from N'Engl.d He was promis'd a salary of about £80, ℔ annum, but his people are not able to

[1] The Rev. Israel Cheever was born at Concord, Sept. 27, 1728, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1749. He was settled for many years at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, where he died in 1811.

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make good their Contract, and having a very numerous Family, finds it extremely difficult to support them, and is fearfull whether he shall not be obliged to remove to some other Province for a Subsistence.

The Revd Mr Seccomb [1] at *Chester* is also from N'Engld. He has never had any Establish'd Salary, but receives about £20, ℔ annum from his Parish, which contains a few Industrious, but poor People, He has expended all the Money he brought with him into this Country (and which we are inform'd was considerable) in Buildings & other improvements, on a new Farm, which has reduced him to very necessitous Circumstances: He has had some small relief from this Town. We cannot avoid Earnestly recommending this Gentleman, now advanc'd in years, — as an Object very worthy of a Charitable Assistance.

The Revd Mr Moor at *Halifax*, is from Ireland; He is paid a salary of £150, ℔ annum (the whole of which he expends for the support of his Family) and but for the exertion of a few individuals of our small Congregation, (who contribute largely), this Gentleman's Subsistance would be too precarious, to induce his continuance amongst us.

The Revd Mr Murdoch at *Horton*, is also from Ireland His present salary is about £70, ℔ annum, but as his people are greatly in arrears to him, he complains for want of a sufficiency to support him comfortably.

The Revd Mr Phelps at *Cornwallis*, is from Connecticutt, His salary by agreement is £80, ℔ annum, but he says his People are not able to make good their Contract, and are of course very much in arrears, This Gentleman has purchas'd, a farm, built an House and made other considerable improvements which has much embarrass'd him, and we believe he at present struggles hard for a subsistance, Yet we must observe, that this Town is one of the most thriving settlements in the Province.

The Revd Mr Lyon at *Truro*, is from the Jerseys, — He has no stated salary, but we suppose he may receive about £50, ℔ annum, He says he is often destitute of the necessary's of Life, Yet is encouraged to continue, from a prospect of being supported in a better manner in future, as his people are Industrious and are making great improvements.

[1] The Rev. John Seccombe was born at Medford, April 25, 1708, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1728. He was settled as the minister of Harvard, Massachusetts, from Oct. 10, 1733, to September, 1757, and of Chester, Nova Scotia, from 1763 to the time of his death on Oct. 27, 1792. The first ordination sermon preached in the Province of Nova Scotia was delivered by him in Halifax on July 8, 1770. He was the author of a humorous poem entitled "Father Abbey's Will," first published as a broadside, and afterward reprinted in "The Gentleman's Magazine" and "The European Magazine," both for May, 1781, and in "The Massachusetts Magazine" for November, 1794. Our late associate, the Rev. John Langdon Sibley, prepared an edition of this poem which was privately printed in the year 1854.

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The Rev^{d} M^{r} Gannet[1] at *Cumberland* is from New Engl^{d} his salary is about £80, ℔ annum, which is paid him by the Exertion of a small number of generous people there, that from him we hear no Complaints.

From this succinct account Gentlemen, You will be able to form some Judgment of the present situation of the Dissenting Clergy amongst us, whose poverty may be easily accounted for, when it is consider'd that the most of the Inhabitants of this Colony are yet but in indifferent Circumstances, not having recover'd the Expence they have been at in Transporting themselves and Familys into the Country, clearing new Lands, Buildings & Improvements thereon &^{c} &^{c} that their farms at present do but little more than afford them a coarse subsistance for their Familys, The people however do in general begin to thrive, and will in a little time, we hope, be able to afford their Ministers a better support.

Should you be pleas'd, Gentlemen, kindly to interest yourselves for the relief of your necessitous Brethren in the Ministry here, any charitable donations from the well affected among you, will be very seasonable, and accepted with great thankfullness, and we doubt not may tend to promote the cause of Religion and Piety among us; — We would beg leave to propose, that whatever Sums may be collected, may be put into the hands of some discreet & Judicious persons here, to be disposed of by them in due proportion.

The Gentlemen for whom we would sollicit this Charity, We believe to be of unblemish'd reputations, and of exemplary Lives & Conversation.

We take this opportunity to express our gratefull acknowledgements, for the kind reception given to the Rev^{d} M^{r} Moor at Boston, and Especially for the recommendation of him & his Cause to the Gentlemen, your friends, in England, which is likely to prove Effectual, having received Letters from him since his arrival, — Encouraging us to hope he shall be able to raise something considerable.

We are Gentlemen,

Your Most Obed^{t} & humb. Serv^{ts}

BN GERRISH.
MALACHY SALTER

To The Rev^{d} Mess^{rs} ANDREW ELLIOT, and SAMUEL COOPER.

[1] The Rev. Caleb Gannett was born at Bridgewater, Aug. 22, 1745, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1768. He was ordained at Hingham, Oct. 12, 1767, and was at once settled over the society at Amherst and Cumberland, Nova Scotia; but from the inadequate support given him, he returned to New England in 1771. He was a tutor at Harvard College from 1773 to 1780, and Steward from 1779 to the time of his death, which took place at Cambridge, April 25, 1818. He was chosen a member of this Society, Oct. 31, 1797. See Collections, 2d. ser. vol. viii. p. 277, for a memoir of him.

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HALIFAX May 10. 1770

GEN^{R}. I have now before me your Esteem'd favor of 23^{d} of April, address'd to Mr. M. Salter and myself, and thank you, in behalf of the Worthy dissenting Clergy of this province, for the generous Contribution you have obtain'd for their present relief, and which will, I doubt not, be received by them, with the Utmost Gratitude.

Mr Salter is now at Boston, and will consult you upon the proper distribution of the Money, he being much better acquainted with the particular Circumstances, and wants of Each of the Gentlemen, than I am; It is my opinion however, that if the Collection could be laid out in necessary provisions for the Use of their families, such as *Pork flour, Meal, Chocolate, Coffee, Tea,* Sugar &^{c} &c. it might be more advantagious, than if the *Money* was given them, those necessary articles being much dearer here, than with you. If you should concur with me herein. Mr Barrett will be so good as to see, that the provisions are purchas'd, and proportion'd, as may be advised, and sent hither in different packages, and directed, when the same shall be forwarded by the first Conveyance.

I Sincerely wish that Mr Moor may be so happy as to obtain from the Charitably disposed in England somewhat that may prove of a more lasting benefit to the cause we would promote: of which you shall be made acquainted, so soon as anything certain relative to the matter may arrive.

I am Gent^{n}. with much respect

Your Most Obedient & Humble Serv^{t}

BN GERRISH.

P S. Since writing the above I have seen the Rev^{d} Mr Seccombe, who is desirous that any proportion of the Sum given that may be assign'd him, may be sent in money.

To the Rev^{d} Doctors ELIOT & COOPER

REV^{D} S–R, Some Time last September I receiv'd Forty Dollers from Benj. Gerrish Esq^{r} at Halifax, Part of the Donation of some Charitable Gentlemen at Boston for the Relief of the indigent dissenting Minister of this Province, which came very seasonably to me and I have Reason to think to others also — About which Time I was invited by a Letter from Malachy Salter Esq^{r} to go to Halifax and preach a Month, Dr. Moore being gone — I accordingly have been, and Mr Salter informed me that I was peculiarly indebted to yourself and Doctor Cooper for the Donation, And I now return hearty Thanks for the same, wishing to yourself and others a better Reward than this World affords — you will please to thank those charitable Gentlemen

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on my Behalf — At Halifax I met with the Rev^d Mr Seccombe of Chester and the Rev^d Mr Gannet of Cumberland, Gentlemen whom I had never been acquainted with before, and was much pleased to find such serious and good Ministers in this Province, for I have not before been acquainted with any one, except Mr Wood, who has consented last Summer, I am informed, that his People should be no longer obliged to give him any support, nevertheless has offered to preach this Winter for Nothing as they call it.

This Town is very much detach'd from the rest of the Province, to the northward and eastward there is no regular setled Town nigher than Annapolis, and to the southward Barrington or Cape Sable is the nighest which is Twelve Leagues hence — and Halifax Fifty — There is a comfortable Unity in Opinion amongst us in this Part of the Town call'd Cape forchu, about Two Thirds of the Inhabitants here, have laid themselves under some Obligation to give me Fifty Pounds pr Annum, but I have not received the One half of that, for the Time that I have preached here since last summer was Three Years, the People not being well able — A Congregational Church was gathered here, last September Three Years ago, in which I have to this Day officiated as their Minister — The other Part of the Town settled on a River called Tabogue are less happy than we in Regard of Unity — The Rev'd Messrs Reed & Conant of Bridgewater if I mistake not were here last Spring to assist them to Unity, and so far succeeded as to persuade them to meet in One Assembly, till the last Sabbath, when they parted again, and One Part have Mr Scott a layman among them, & the other Part Mr Moulton a Baptist Minister from Brimfield

From Your humble Servant, & Fellow-Labourer in the Gospel

NEH^a PORTER[1]

YARMOUTH IN NOVA SCOTIA Nov. 16. 1770.

To The Rev^d Dr. ANDREW ELIOT. In Boston New England.

Dr. DEANE called attention to a rare tract relating to New England, which he held in his hand, belonging to the Society, and said: —

This little tract has been in the Society's library for many years, — indeed, from the beginning, — and was among the

[1] The Rev. Nehemiah Porter was born at Ipswich, March 27, 1720, and graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1745. He was settled at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1767, where he remained until 1771, when he returned to Massachusetts. He died at Ashfield, Massachusetts, Feb. 29, 1820, at the advanced age of ninety-nine years and eleven months.

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rare books presented by Dr. Belknap in 1791, the year of the Society's institution. The author was the Rev. William Morrell, one of the company of Robert Gorges, who came over in 1623 with several families, and with a commission from the Council for New England to be Governor-General of the country, having sundry well-known persons for his assistants; "and pitched upon the place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken" for a plantation, namely, at "Wessacuscus." Morrell was his chaplain, and signs himself in his book "late preacher with the Right Wor. Cap. Rob. Gorge, late Governor of New-England." He was probably accompanied by some others, afterwards known in New England history as "the old planters," who remained in the country after this great scheme of an Episcopal establishment had collapsed, and Robert Gorges had gone home, which he did in the early part of 1624. Morrell stayed behind on the spot about a year longer, — for the place was not wholly deserted, — and then took shipping from Plymouth. Bradford says: "He had I know not what power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him, and sundry instructions for that end; but he never showed it or made any use of it — it should seem he saw it was in vain — he only spoke of it to some here at his going away."[1] This little tract is the only relic remaining of the Gorges Colony; for it was composed by its author during his stay in the country, and printed on his return. "Morrill," says Dr. Belknap, "appears to have been a diligent enquirer into the state and circumstances of the country, its natural productions and advantages, the manners, customs, and government of the natives; the result of his observations he wrought into a poem which he printed both in Latin and English. The Latin is by no means destitute of classical merit, . . . and the English translation, considering the date of it, is very tolerable."[2] Another judicious writer more accurately, I think, describes the English lines as of inferior merit. "The diction is in some places obscure; and many of the verses are rough and unharmonious. It contains, however, several good lines." The fauna and flora of the country are described, with the riches which abound in its waters; while perhaps one third part of the text is taken up by an account of the "Natives." The text of this little

[1] Bradford, p. 154. [2] American Biography, vol. i. p. 368.

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book — that is, the Latin and English verse — was printed in the first volume of the Society's Collections in 1792, on pages 125–139, and in that part of the volume which was first issued in the "American Apollo." The titlepage; the dedication, of two pages, "To the Right Honorable the Lords, and the Right Worshipful Knights and Gentlemen; Adventurers for New England;" the preface, of one page, to the "Understanding Reader;" and the postscript, of two pages, — were all omitted. The postscript contains some sensible and judicious remarks relative to plantations, showing the "inconvenience and disabilities" resulting to small colonies, weak and unable to defend themselves, "when as some one Bay, well fortified, would maintain and enrich some thousand of persons, if it be planted with men, able, ingenious, and laborious, being well furnished with all provisions and necessaries for plantations." The original sheets reprinted of this tract were probably sent to the printer, and placed in the compositor's hands as "copy." The terminations of several Latin words in the text, ending in *q*, and intended for *que*, are written out in the sheets, and are so printed in the Society's volume. To the verses on page 11, addressed to Charles the First, — who had just come to the throne, — but which have no heading in the original, are these words, prefixed in the handwriting of James Freeman, one of the Publishing Committee, and so printed in the volume: "Addressed to King Charles I." These precious leaves, after they were returned from the printer, were happily preserved, and put back in their place in the volume from which they had been taken, — a rare volume of Dr. Belknap's tracts, some twenty in number, — and loosely attached to it by a pin. A short time ago, by consent of the Librarian, I removed these sheets, which were soiled and torn, cleansed them, and mended the torn leaves, and procured a titlepage in facsimile from the only other copy of the tract known to me, namely, one in the British Museum, by the kind aid of Mr. Waters, who caused it to be done for me by the photolithographic process. I have also had the book put into covers. And all this has been accomplished without any expense to the Society.

The book was referred to the Publishing Committee.

A miniature of the titlepage here follows: —

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"New-England.

OR

A BRIEFE

ENARRATION

OF THE AYRE,

Earth, Water, Fish and

Fowles of that Country.

WITH

A DESCRIPTION

of the Natures, Orders, Habits,

and Religion of the *Natives;*

IN

Latine and English Verse.

Sat brevè, si sat benè.

LONDON,

Imprinted by I. D.

1625."

A new volume of the Proceedings was ready for delivery to members of the Society at this meeting.

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MARCH MEETING, 1888.

THE monthly meeting of the Society was held on the 8th instant.

The record of the previous meeting having been read by the Recording Secretary, the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, said: —

At the meeting of the Society in June, 1886, I deposited here a large volume of miscellaneous papers, committed to my hands by the widow of Prof. Romeo Elton, D.D., of Brown University. The papers were largely concerned with the affairs, the family, and the connections of her distinguished ancestor, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, a refugee from Boston in the Revolution. Mrs. Elton has since deceased. Her executor, Samuel S. Shaw, Esq., has sent to the Society, as by her will, another volume of similar Papers. The Publishing Committee may find in it matter for our Proceedings.

Preparatory to the Annual Meeting, a committee to nominate officers was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Chamberlain, Jenks, and Channing; and a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, consisting of Messrs. Cobb and Wolcott.

On motion of Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., a committee to consider the expediency of revising the By-Laws of the Society was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Deane, Everett, and Winthrop.

Mr. E. J. LOWELL reported from the Committee on the Pickering Papers that an index of names and subjects should be prepared and printed, instead of having a selection made from them.

Dr. PAIGE then spoke as follows: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — I hope to be pardoned for reminding some of our older associates that I was permitted, eleven years ago to-day, to lay on this table an advance copy of my "History of Cambridge," as a birthday offering. Six years

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afterwards our regular meeting again occurred on the 8th day of March, and I presented a "History of Hardwick," my native town, the latest fruitage of my old age. After an interval of five years, we once more meet on my birthday, but I am no longer able to exhibit any evidence of historical labor. The burden of eighty-six years is a perceptible drawback upon intellectual activity as well as on physical energy. Being unwilling, however, that the day should pass without some recognition on my part, I have solicited from a neighbor two small manuscript volumes, which I am happy to present in her name.

The more ancient of the two seems to have been an account-book, kept by William Truesdale, of Freston, England, from 1663 to 1671. He is supposed to have been a brother of Deacon Richard Truesdale, who died in Boston about 1671, and father of Richard Truesdale, who brought the book to New England, and made several memoranda in the blank spaces, such as, "We came from Gravesend the first of May 1675." His only daughter, Elizabeth Truesdale (born Feb. 10, 1673–4; died Aug. 16, 1760), married, Dec. 17, 1697, Andrew Bordman, of Cambridge, who was Town Treasurer twenty-three years, Town Clerk thirty-nine years, Steward of Harvard College forty-four years, and died May 30, 1747, aged nearly seventy-six years. Being the only surviving child of her father, she inherited his books, which passed from her to her only son, Judge Andrew Bordman, who died May 19, 1769, leaving an only son, Andrew Bordman, who died July 27, 1817, childless, but leaving a widow, who was sister to the wife of Mr. Joshua Harlow, by whose daughter this book is now presented. I mention these details, to show the legitimate descent of the volume from one owner to another.

The other book is not quite so ancient, but it is much more valuable. It contains Tully's Almanack for 1693, bound with a plentiful supply of writing-paper, and bears this inscription: "Benjamin Wadsworth, His Book, Jan. 19, 169$\frac{2}{3}$." The owner will be recognized as the Pastor of the First Church in Boston, from 1696 to 1725, and President of Harvard College from July, 1725, until his death, March 16, 1737. The book contains the names of more than fifty persons who boarded in his family for longer or shorter periods, — mostly boys in school and in college, — but some females, among whom was

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Sarah Leverett, youngest daughter of Governor Leverett, from April, 1704, until April, 1718, when she became the wife of Colonel Byfield. Besides the accounts kept with these boarders, are entered the dates of about thirty clerical ordinations and several items of personal history. For example:

"I was ordained as a teaching officer of Christ over the old church in Boston September 8. 1696. After ordination I was (by Mr. Allen who gave me my charge) declared Pastor of y^{t} church. Ben. Wadsworth. . . . I was married to Mrs. Ruth Bordman of Cambridge on y^{e} 30th day of December 1696, by Mr. William Brattle. Ben. Wadsworth. . . . I came y^{e} 6th of January and lived in the house of D^{r} Bridgham till the 8th day of April 1698; then I came to live in y^{e} churches house, in which Mr. Baylie lately died."

In August, 1694, Mr. Wadsworth accompanied the Commissioners who were sent to Albany to treat with the Indians, of which expedition he entered an elaborate journal in this book, which was copied by me in 1851, and was published in the Thirty-first volume of our Collections, pp. 102–110. This journey, performed on horseback, was both difficult and dangerous. From Watertown to Springfield, "Lieut. Hammond and thirty troopers" furnished a military escort; and from Springfield to Albany, "Cap. Wadsworth of Harford, & with him 60 Dragoons," performed a similar service. Between Marlborough, where they rested the first night, and Quaboag (Brookfield) their second stage, the path was rough and inhabitants few, as is indicated by the observation that "y^{r} was nothing remarkable this day, but only Mr. Dwite of Harford did accidentally fall into our company, and after the same manner, scil. accidentally, he and his horse both together fell into a brook; but both rose again without damage. This day we dined in y^{e} woods." Having spent the third night at Westfield, they plunged into the "howling wilderness" between the Connecticut and the Hudson Rivers. "Y^{e} road which we travelled, this day, was very woody, rocky, mountanous, swampy; extream bad riding it was. I never yet saw so bad travelling as this was. We took up our quarters, this night, by y^{e} side of a river, about a quarter past 5. We had a little hutt built for us, with pine bows, under which we lodg'd very comfortably." The next night "we took up our lodgings, about sundown, in the woods, at a place called

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Ousetonuck." Six days were thus spent in a journey which is now accomplished in about as many hours. The writer makes special acknowledgment of Divine protection: "Such was y^e^ peculiar hand of Providence over us, this long and hazardous journey, y^t^ neither man nor beast had any broken bone, nor bruise y^t^ was dangerous."

President Wadsworth had no children. His wife was sister to the veteran Steward Andrew Bordman, before mentioned; through whom this book, like the other, passed by regular descent to the Harlow family. I hope the Secretary may be directed to communicate the thanks of the Society to Miss Abbie R. Harlow, of Cambridge.

Dr. EVERETT called attention to a communication of Professor Haynes, in the last volume of the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. p. 381), in which an epigram of Judge Sewall's, printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," and in Sibley's "Harvard Graduates," is commented on. It is on the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, and reads thus: —

> "*Malleus hæreticis, ceteris salatior sanctis,*
> *Hic jacet egregius præco, poeta pius.*"

If *salatior* is a miswriting for *salacior*, the epithet is wholly unsuited to both Noyes and Sewall, the subject and the author. Mr. Haynes accordingly had suggested *solutior*. But both words seriously violate metrical rules. Now, it is very noticeable that, however feeble the poetry of Sewall's verses, both English and Latin, in the latter, at least, the metre is irreproachable, according to the rules of quantity as recognized by the scholars of his time. An exhaustive examination of the verses in the Diary leaves no doubt on this subject. We should therefore resort to emendation, to save sense as well as metre in Noyes's epitaph. The word *solatia*, "comfort," which has the highest classical authority for its plural use, at once offers itself as fulfilling all requisites, and is confirmed by the tenor of the Diary (vol. iii. p. 154): "He was *Malleus Hæreticorum;* my most sincere and excellent friend."

Examining some other bits of verse where the Diary, as at present printed, gives untenable readings, we find (vol. iii. p. 150), —

> "*Iddum nihil est; restat de stipite longo,*
> *Nescio quid cineris, quem caput urna brevis.*"

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For the meaningless *Iddum*, read *Idolum;* Judge Sewall had reference to 1 Corinthians viii.

Vol. II. p. 170.

"*Tingitur Andreas, Nicolaus, Deborah, Sarah,*"

should be thus printed, as a uniform hexameter line.

Vol. II. p. 181. Should also be printed uniformly, as a couplet, the following: —

"*Nobilibus causas quid præfers, Angle, latentes?*
Annæ principium Cæsaris annus habet."

The point of the epigram, is a weak enough play upon *Anna* and *annus;* making Queen Anne's accession, the 8th of March (which, as Dr. Everett remarked, was the day of the present meeting), decide the mooted question of New Year's Day.

In the epigram, vol. ii. p. 311, should not *mihi* be *mi*, the vocative of *meus?*

In vol. iii. p. 22, the editors of the Diary have placed a question-mark after the line, —

"*Rex populum, tanquam gramina tonsa, riget.*"

The expression of a wish that the king should deal with his people as rain on a newly mown field, seems to come from Psalm lxxii. 6.

The epigram on young Mr. Rogers, drowned in Black Rock Bay (vol. iii. p. 321), reads, —

"*Pone nigras Rupes sinus est, et dictus ab illis;*
Hocce sinu Rogers laqueatus obit."

A syllable is needed after the proper name. This might be *Ah!* or *Heu!* but it is also not improbable that the true reading is *illaqueatus*, — a word with better classical authority in the sense of "entangled" than *laqueatus*.

The last line of the verses in vol. iii. p. 308, is entirely unmetrical and untranslatable. Perhaps

"*Omnia, qui tua vult, gaudia semper habet,*"

is the proper reading.

These epigrams, as well as the various Latin quotations in the Diary, show a very sound classical scholarship to have belonged to Judge Sewall. It has been sometimes asserted that

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our ancestors of four generations ago were better Latin scholars than we are, because they used to talk Latin. This is no evidence of classical scholarship; Latin conversation as a practice generally deteriorates into modern ideas in bad Latin. But two hundred years ago learned men, and particularly theologians, had to know Latin well, or they could not understand each other. Italian as an international language was dying out; German had not yet arisen; and French was just exactly in its transition period, fixing itself as a court dialect, but not yet widely diffused among thinkers.

Mr. GOODELL referred to the discovery of the exact date and place of marriage of John Harvard to Anne Sadler, daughter of John Sadler, vicar of Ringmer; and he read a letter from E. H. W. Dunkin to Henry F. Waters in confirmation of these facts, which have hitherto baffled the diligent inquiries of genealogists.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN remarked that Bancroft and later historians of the American Revolution have quoted with approval the opinion of Hutchinson, that the formation of the Committees of Correspondence between the Colonies, in 1773, "seems to have laid the foundation of that union of the Colonies which was afterwards bound or secured by the establishment of a general Congress, as a supreme authority over the whole people." This scheme originated in the Virginia House of Delegates, and took definite form, March 12, 1773, in certain resolutions introduced by Dabney Carr, which, advocated by Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, were unanimously adopted, and a Committee of Correspondence appointed, on which appear the names of Bland, Lee, Henry, Carr, and Jefferson. These resolutions were sent to the several Colonies, accompanied by a circular letter of Peyton Randolph. The copy received by Massachusetts was acted upon by the General Court May 28, when corresponding resolves offered by Samuel Adams were adopted, with only four negative votes; and the same day a committee was appointed, consisting of fifteen members, the most eminent of whom were Mr. Speaker Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Heath, Joseph Hawley, James Warren, Elbridge Gerry, and Daniel Leonard, the author of the "Massachusettensis" papers, who afterward became conspicuous as a Tory.

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The Committee got together promptly on the evening of the same day, only three members being absent, and organized by the choice of William Heath as their clerk, who kept full records of their proceedings. In the preface to his sixth volume of the "History of the United States," Mr. Bancroft, in the enumeration of the sources of his history, mentions the papers of Samuel Adams as in his possession, and says that, among other things, "they contain the complete journals of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, drafts of the letters it sent out, and the letters it received, so far as they have been preserved." These papers, I infer, are those of an inter-town committee, and not those of the inter-colonial committee spoken of above. These latter, as I have reason to suppose, remained with General Heath, but did not share the good fortune of that portion of his papers which, by the munificence of Amos A. Lawrence, became the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1859, where they are now preserved; for through some inadvertence the papers delivered to Mr. Lawrence did not include the journals or correspondence of the inter-colonial committee, nor all the letters of Washington or of Burgoyne, or many others, which passed into private hands some years later, and many of them being sold at auction were widely scattered throughout the country. Fortunately, the first eight pages of the Journal of this committee, in the handwriting of Heath, its clerk, came into the possession of the Boston Public Library, and I am permitted, as its custodian, to exhibit them here to-day.

The Journal shows that the first meeting of the committee was held on the 28th of May, 1773, and the last on the 21st of October of the same year. I have no means of ascertaining the number of pages of which it originally consisted. It is barely possible that the committee did not sit later than October 21, and that the Journal is complete as we now have it. The formation of the committee belongs to that class of events in which the first successful step is the most important. The entries in the Journal do not indicate that the meetings of the full committee were frequent, or that their duties were arduous, or very important, though they possess considerable historical interest. But the formation of these committees in the several Colonies had all the political significance and effect which have been attributed to it, as it evinced a dis-

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position on the part of the Colonies to unite in devising means to resist the aggressions of the British Government, and doubtless prepared the minds of the people to send delegates to the General Congress which met in September, 1774. It has been long known that Samuel Adams drafted the answer of the House to the Virginia letter; but the Journal now makes historically known for the first time, I think, the committees which drafted other important papers. It will be observed that Daniel Leonard's name drops out of the list of those present after the second meeting; and during his attendance he may have been meditating those elaborate and very able papers which began to appear late the next year.

I shall not ask attention to all the interesting items which may be found in the Journal; but there is one which is specially interesting, and its publication may lead to valuable results. It relates to James Otis's argument on Writs of Assistance. It has been supposed that John Adams was the only person who took minutes of it; and that may have been the case. In his letter to William Tudor of March 29, 1818, Adams speaks of himself as present on that occasion, and "lost in admiration, now and then minuting those despicable notes, which you know that . . . stole from my desk, and printed in the 'Massachusetts Spy,' with two or three bombastic expressions interpolated by himself; and which your pupil, Judge Minot, has printed in his history." But under August 26 it appears that the sub-committee, in answer to some inquiries from the Connecticut committee in respect to Writs of Assistance, procured and sent them minutes of the arguments made by Thacher and Otis before the Superior Court. If I knew, or could conveniently ascertain by an exhaustive examination, when the publication in the "Spy" took place, it would assist in determining the question whether the committee sent to Connecticut the minutes surreptitiously printed in that paper, or minutes made by some other person than John Adams. If the letter to the Connecticut committee, with its enclosures, should come to light, it would serve to settle an interesting question, and possibly give us a more perfect report of Otis's famous argument, as well as of that of Oxenbridge Thacher.

The following is an exact transcript of the Journal: —

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A Journal of the Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, Chosen by the Honorable House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay on Fryday May 28th A D 1773 —

Members of the Commttee

Jedediah Foster Esqr	Hon Thos Cushing Esqr
Daniel Leonard Esqr	Mr Saml Adams
James Prescott Esqr	Hon John Hancock Esqr
Capt Wm Heath	Wm Phillips Esqr
Capt Jona Greenleaf	Hon Joseph Hawley Esqr
Capt Thos Gardner	Hon James Warren Esqr
Mr Elbridge Gerry	Jerathl Bowers Esqr
	Richard Derby Junr Esqr

Fryday Evening May 28th 1773 the Commttee met.

Present

Mr Prescot	Mr Cushing
Mr Greenleaf	Mr Adams
Mr Gerry	Mr Hancock
Mr Leonard	Mr Phillips
Mr Derby	Mr Bowers
Mr Heath	Mr Warren

The Commttee voted Wm Heath their Clerk

Voted that Mr Adams prepare a Letter to the Speaker of the Honorable House of Burgesses of the Province of Virginia

Voted that Mr Leonard prepare a Letter to the Speaker of the Honorable House of Deputies of the Colony of Rhode-Island

Voted that Mr Gerry prepare Circular Letters to the Speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on the Continent

Voted that Mr Cushing Mr Hancock Mr Warren Mr Hawley and Mr Foster Enumerate the grievances under which the Inhabitants of this Province Labour in order to Communicate them to the Sister Colonies

The Commttee then adjourned

Thursday June 3rd 1773 —

The Commttee met

Present

Mr Leonard	Mr Cushing
Mr Gardner	Mr Adams
Mr Greenleaf	Mr Hancock
Mr Gerry	Mr Phillips
Mr Heath	Mr Warren
	Mr Foster

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Mr Adams reported the Draft of a Letter to the Speaker of the Honorable House of Burgesses of the Colony of Virginia, which Draft was Unanimously accepted by the Commttee and voted to be reported to the House

Mr Gerry reported the Draft of a Circular Letter to the Speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on the Continent, which was unanimously voted to be reported to the House

the Committee then adjourned

Monday June 28th 1773 —

The Committee met.

Present

Mr Foster	Mr Cushing
Mr Greenleaf	Mr Adams
Mr Gardner	Mr Hancock
Mr Heath	Mr Phillips
	Mr Derby

Mr Hancock Communicated a Letter which he had received from the Commttee of Correspondence in Connecticut, Requesting that they may be favoured with Sundry Letters, which the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay have Obtained from England of an Extraordinary Nature, tending to subvert the Constitution of the Colonies, — which Letter was Read and thereupon Voted That a Sub Committee be appointed to write an answer to the Letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Connecticut, also to the Committies of each assembly on the Continent

Voted that Mr Cushing Mr Adams Mr Hancock Mr Phillips and Mr Heath be a sub committee for that purpose, and that they enclose to the said Committees printed copies of the Letters that have been before the House, and the Resolves thereon, also printed copies of the Controversy between the Governor and the Two Houses of the Last Assembly

The Committee then adjourned

Monday July 4th 1773

The sub Committee met

Present

Mr Phillips	Mr Cushing
Mr Heath	Mr Adams

a Letter was then wrote to the Committee of Correspondence in Connecticut, with which was enclosed Copies of three Letters signed Thos Moffat, and printed copies of the Letters that have been before the House and the resolves thereon, also printed copies of the Controversy between the Governor and the two Houses of the last Assembly.

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Thursday July 8th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

Mr Hancock	Mr Cushing
Mr Heath	Mr Adams

Voted that this sub Committee will meet periodically and that the said meetings shall be on Thursdays at four o Clock P : M —
The sub Committee Then adjourned to Thursday the 15th Instant —

Thursday July 15th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

Mr Hancock	Mr Cushing
Mr Heath	Mr Adams

Proposed writeing Letters to the several Committies of Correspondence in the neighbouring Governments, respecting some Important matters of General Concernment, and Desired Mr Adams to prepare a Draft accordingly —
Then adjourned to Thursday 29th Instant

Thursday July 29th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

Mr Phillips	Mr Cushing
Mr Heath	Mr Adams

Some fresh Intelligence being Dayly Expected from Great Britain it was thought best to defer writeing Letters to the Several Committies of Correspondence in the neighbouring Governments for a few Dayes —
Then adjourned to Thursday the 5th Day of August next, five o Clock P : M

Thursday Augst 5th 1773 — Being very Stormy and Uncomfortable the sub Committee did not meet

Thursday Augst 12th 1773 —
Part of the sub Committee met

Present

Mr Adams
Mr Heath

There not being a majority of the Committee present nothing was Transacted —

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Thursday Augst 19th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

M^{r} Phillips	M^{r} Cushing
	M^{r} Adams

Some further Intelligence being Expected it was thought best still to defer sending the Letters (heretofore proposed, to be sent to the several Committies of Correspondence) for the present

Thursday Augst 26th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

M^{r} Heath	M^{r} Cushing
	M^{r} Phillips

M^{r} Cushing Communicated a Letter which he had received from the Committee of Correspondence in Connecticut requesting that they may [be] Informed what has been Done by the Judges of the Superior Court in this Province, on the requisition made for a writ of assistence. — where upon the sub Committee procured the minutes of the arguments made by M^{r} Thacher and M^{r} Otis before the Judges of the Superior Court in this Province against such a writ being Granted here, which togather with a Letter were forwarded to the Committee of Correspondence in Connecticut

The Committee then adjourned

Wednesday Sept^{r} 29th 1773 —
Sub Committee met

Present

M^{r} Hancock	M^{r} Cushing
M^{r} Phillips	M^{r} Adams

In as much as the Joynt wisdom of the whole Committee appears to be needfull, Voted that M^{r} Cushing desire the several members to attend at the Representatives Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 20th Day of Oct^{r} next at Ten o Clock in the morning —

Wednesday Oct^{r} 20th 1773 — A : M —
agreable to Notification the Committee met

Present

M^{r} Bowers	M^{r} Cushing
M^{r} Foster	M^{r} Adams
M^{r} Prescott	M^{r} Hancock
M^{r} Gardner	M^{r} Phillips
M^{r} Heath	M^{r} Warren

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Mr Chairman then acquainted the Committee with the reasons of their being called togather, namely to Consider of the Expediency of writeing Circuler Letters to the several Committies of Correspondence in the neighbouring Governments, and after Debate thereon it was voted to be Expedient

The subject matter to be Expressed in such Letters was then Taken into Consideration, and after Debateing thereon till noon, — The Committee adjourned to half past three o Clock afternoon

Post Meridiem

Present

Mr Foster	Mr Cushing
Mr Prescott	Mr Adams
Mr Gardner	Mr Phillips
Mr Heath	Mr Warren
	Mr Bowers

The Committee again took into Consideration the subject in Debate in the forenoon and after mature deliberation, and further Debate thereon

Voted That Mr Warren and Mr Adams be a sub Committee to prepare the Draft of a Circuler to the several Committies of Correspondence in the neighbouring Governments, and report as soon as may be

Then adjourned till to Morrow 12 o Clock at noon

Thursday Octr 21st 1773 12 o Clock at noon

Committee met present

Mr Warren	Mr Cushing
Mr Prescott	Mr Hancock
Mr Gardner	Mr Phillips
Mr Heath	Mr Bowers
	Mr Foster

Mr Bowers acquainted the Committee that the sub Committee were not ready to report.

Then adjourned to three o Clock afternoon

Post Meridiem

Present

Mr Bowers	Mr Cushing
Mr Foster	Mr Adams
Mr Prescott	Mr Hancock
Mr Gardner	Mr Phillips
Mr Heath	Mr Warren

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The sub Committee reported the Draft of a Circuler Letter which was several Times Read, and accepted, and thereupon voted That Mr. Chairman, Mr. Adams and Mr. Heath sign said Letters by order of the Commttee and forward them to the several Committies of Correspondence with all Convenient speed — and that the said three members of the Committee Transmit a Like Letter to any other Committee that they may be Informed are appointed —

Then adjourned —

Mr. YOUNG read a letter from Mr. W. S. Appleton, dated Paris, Feb. 16, 1888, in which he asks if there is any portrait of Rochambeau in America taken from life, since one is much wanted to illustrate a volume by a French author. Mr. Young said that he had received an interesting letter from the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in which he referred to the map of Yorktown, prepared for the Centennial Celebration, with Trumbull's likenesses of all the officers on the margin; and also to Lossing's "Mount Vernon and its Associations," which contains a fine woodcut of the old Count. Further remarks upon this subject were made by Mr. WINSOR, Dr. EVERETT, and Mr. A. T. PERKINS.

A new Serial, including the proceedings from November to February inclusive, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary at this meeting.

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APRIL MEETING, 1888.

The Annual Meeting occurred on Thursday, the 12th instant; and the President, Dr. ELLIS, was in the chair.

After the reading of the report of the last meeting by the Recording Secretary, the Librarian presented a list of books given to the Library during the two preceding months, since he was absent in the South at the March meeting.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then rose and addressed the Society as follows: —

As a special engagement, from which I cannot escape, will compel me to leave here at an early moment, I hope I may be pardoned for saying a very few words out of my regular turn. I desire to thank our worthy President, and I am sure the whole Society will unite with me in grateful acknowledgments to him, for the interesting and elaborate volume which he presents to us to-day, on "The Puritan Age and Rule in Massachusetts." He was kind enough to send me the earliest copy of it last week, and I have read more than a hundred pages of it continuously, and have cursorily examined the other four hundred pages. I congratulate him heartily on the completion of so important and valuable a work, and I rejoice to find, in what I have read, so just and worthy a treatment of topics which can never lose their interest in Massachusetts, in New England, or in our country at large. I note with particular pleasure his refutation, on the forty-seventh page, of the often repeated calumny that the Massachusetts Company in 1630 "stole away from England," bringing their Charter "in daring contempt of authority and without a shadow of legality." For this refutation he cites justly an Essay of Governor Winthrop, on "Arbitrary Government described, and the Government of the Massachusetts vindicated from that Aspersion," which was found among the Winthrop Papers so happily obtained by me at New London in 1860, and which I included in the Appendix to the second

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volume of the "Life and Letters" of the Governor a few years afterwards. I was most glad to find that Mr. J. A. Doyle, in his recent admirable work on the Puritan Colonies, had made a similar reference to Governor Winthrop's Essay, recognizing it as "a full answer to those who held that in transferring the Government to America the Patentees broke faith with the Crown." Mr. Doyle's volumes, with that of our accomplished and excellent President, will, I trust, put that old calumny to rest, — if, indeed, there is any rest for calumny and scandal in relation to Puritans and Pilgrims. But I forbear from all further remark to-day. I only broke away from my engagements to enter an appearance once more at our Annual Meeting, to offer my congratulations and thanks to the President for his excellent volume, and to unite in the felicitations on the prosperity and welfare of the Society which belong to this occasion.

The PRESIDENT remarked that he wished every one present to have a copy of his book; and he invited all the Society to lunch with him at his house at two o'clock.

The PRESIDENT read a note from Mr. Robert Treat Paine, who, as executor of the will of Robert Treat Paine, who died in Brookline in 1885, presented a volume of five sermons (three in print and two in manuscript) of Rev. Thomas Paine, born in 1694, and settled in Weymouth, and whose son was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. WINSOR read the following letter: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — Being unable to attend the meeting this morning, I write to communicate to the Society a remarkable discovery of papers relating to French-American History made lately in France by Abbé H. R. Casgrain, of Quebec.

General, afterwards Maréchal de Lévis, who was second in command to Montcalm in Canada, carefully collected and arranged the great number of papers in his hands relating to the American campaigns in which he had just been engaged. The collection forms in all eleven volumes, and consists of (1) the journal of General de Lévis; (2) his letters written between 1756 and 1762; (3) journals of the several campaigns of the war, written chiefly by the secretaries of Montcalm; (4) letters of Montcalm to Lévis; (5) letters of Vaudreuil to Lévis; (6) letters of Bourlamaque to Lévis; (7) letters of Bigot

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to Lévis; (8) miscellaneous letters to Lévis; (9) various journals and narratives of the events of the war; (10) letters from the Court to the chief commanders in America; (11) miscellaneous military papers, partly relating to America.

Some of the documents in this precious collection exist in other forms, including the journal of General de Lévis, of which there is a duplicate at Montreal; but by far the greater part have been hitherto wholly unknown. They have always remained in the Lévis family, and are now in the hands of his great-grandson, the Comte Raimond de Nicolay. Having lain hidden for more than a century in a provincial chateau, they have remained hitherto unknown. "It is the present Comte de Nicolay," writes Abbé Casgrain, "who has rescued them from the dust."

Abbé Casgrain is well known as an enthusiastic student of Canadian history, to which he has made valuable contributions in his "History of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec," his "Life of Marie de l'Incarnation," and other works. In bringing to light this important collection, he has rendered a signal service to the history of this Continent.

It is said that copies of the Lévis papers will soon be sent to Canada.

F. PARKMAN.

Mr. WINSOR also presented a detailed statement regarding the same manuscripts, which had been sent to him by the Abbé Casgrain, in a slip taken from "Le Canadien," a newspaper published at Quebec, and dated March 31, 1888. The account follows: —

Nous sommes en mesure de donner des détails précis sur les manuscrits très importants et tout-à-fait ignorés que M. l'abbé Casgrain a trouvé récemment en France, et dont les journaux ont déjà dit quelques mots. Nous garantissons l'authenticité de ces renseignements; car nous les avons tirés des notes mêmes de M. l'abbé Casgrain, dont celui-ci a bien voulu nous permettre de prendre des extraits.

Ces manuscrits ont appertenu au général de Lévis et ont toujours été conservés dans sa famille. Ils sont aujourd'hui la propriété de M. le Comte de Nicolay, arrière petit-fils du général de Lévis. Et voici par quelle filiation.

1o. Le Chevalier de Lévis devenu Marquis de Lévis, puis Maréchal de France et Duc de Lévis (le vainqueur de Sainte-Foye).

2o. Son fils le Duc de Lévis, Pair de France, membre de l'Académie Française, chevalier d'honneur de Madame la Duchesse de Berry, décédé en 1830.

3o. Le précédent a eu un fils, le Duc de Lévis, décédé en 1863, et une fille mariée au Marquis de Nicolay, Pair de France.

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De ce mariage sont issus plusieurs enfants, parmi lesquels le Comte Raimond de Nicolay, légataire universel de son oncle, le troisième Duc de Lévis, et à ce titre possesseur des Mémoires du Maréchal.

Ces manuscrits ont été relégués pendant plus d'un siècle au fond d'une bibliothèque de province, au château de Noisiel, et ont ainsi échappé jusqu'à présent à toutes les investigations. C'est le présent Comte de Nicolay, qui les a tirés de la poussière et gardé précieusement dans ses archives. "Vous êtes la seule personne," écrivait le 15 du présent mois, M. le Comte de Nicolay à M. l'abbé Casgrain, "vous êtes la seule personne à qui j'aie communiqué les nombreux et très précieux documents inédits qui me viennent de mon aïeul le Maréchal de Lévis." En voici, en quelques mots, l'historique.

Le général de Lévis, pendant son séjour au Canada, avait tenu un journal de ses campagnes, et entretenu une correspondance active, dont il avait l'habitude de garder une copie. Il devint de plus, après la mort de Montcalm, le dépositaire de tous les papiers du général que celui-ci, au moment de mourir, avait donné ordre de lui remettre.

De retour en France, le général de Lévis occupa ses loisirs à mettre en ordre toute cette masse de documents. Il fit même transcrire avec grand soin son journal et sa correspondance, rangea par dates les lettres des principaux personnages avec qui il avait été en relation pendant son séjour au Canada, et fit relier le tout avec un soin et même un luxe qui indiquent l'importance qu'il y attachait. C'est cette précieuse collection qui vient d'être signalée et dont la copie authentique sera prochainement expédiée au Canada. Elle ne forme pas moins de onze volumes, dont cinq in folio et six in 4to. En voici le détail.

Volume 1er. Journal des Campagnes du général de Lévis intitulé: Canada, Cartes et Relations, jusqu'à 1760. In folio, de 285 pages. Au commencement du volume sont placées neuf cartes ou plans des différentes batailles ou attaques livrées de 1755 à 1760. 1o. Carte manuscrite de la bataille de la Monongahéla. 2o. Carte imprimée; plan de la bataille livrée près du lac George où fut défait le Baron de Dieskau. 3o. Plan des forts de Chouagen avec le débarquement, le camp et les attaques de l'armée commandée par M. le Marquis de Montcalm: aquarelle superbe de 3 pieds et demi de longueur sur 2½ de largeur. 4o. Plan du fort William Henry ou fort George construit par les Anglois en 1756, assiégé et pris en 1757 par l'armée française commandée par M. le Marquis de Montcalm: aquarelle de deux pieds de longueur sur deux de largeur. 5o. Plan des retranchements sur les hauteurs en avant du fort Carillon attaqués par les Anglois, le 8 juillet 1758, défendus par l'armée française commandée par M. le Marquis de Montcalm: aquarelle de 3½ pieds de longueur sur deux de largeur. 6o. Attaque du fort Niagara pris par les Anglois le 25 juillet 1759: aquarelle, grandeur des deux feuilles de l'in folio. 7o. Plan du combat du 31 juillet

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1759. (Bataille de Montmorency.) Bataille de Québec 13 7bre 1759, imprimé. 8o. Plan; prise du fort Lévis par les Anglois: aquarelle de deux pieds sur deux. 9o. Plan de Québec et de la bataille qui s'est livrée dans les environs, le 28 avril 1760, entre les François commandés par le Marquis de Lévis et les Anglois sous les ordres du brigadier-général Murray: aquarelle, de quatre pieds sur deux.

Les pages les plus curieuses de ce manuscrit sont, sans contredit, celles où le général de Lévis raconte, en se nommant à la troisième personne, tous les détails de la bataille de Sainte-Foye, où il commandait lui-même. C'est un récit de première main, s'il en fût jamais; et qui va mettre à néant plus d'une assertion accréditée. En voici la fin. Mais disons d'abord que le Chevalier de Lévis croyait que les ennemis étaient décidés à s'en tenir à la défense de Québec. "Il comptoit de faire avancer l'armée et de lui faire donner les vivres qui étoient dûes ce jour-là; il envoya pour cela ordre de les faire arriver à bonne heure à l'anse au Foulon, et monta à cheval le matin 28 pour aller reconnoître avec son état major les positions qu'il feroit occuper à son armée."

C'est alors que Lévis s'aperçut que les ennemis s'avançaient en masse pour l'attaquer. Il se hâta d'appuyer sa gauche sur la maison connue depuis sous le nom de moulin de Dumont, et qui devint le théâtre d'une lutte restée célèbre. Bourlamaque y fut blessé d'un coup de canon, et eut un cheval tué sous lui. Lévis s'y porta de sa personne et ordonna d'y tenir à tout prix.

"Il passa ensuite de la gauche à la droite entre les deux armées, ordonna en passant à nos brigades de charger et fit marcher les cinq compagnies de grenadiers de la droite aux redoutes qui étaient sur les buttes dont les ennemis s'étaient emparées.

"M. le Chevalier de Lévis comptoit charger les ennemis en flanc avec la brigade de la Reyne et celle de Royal Roussillon qui débordoient les dites hauteurs, mais par un ordre mal rendu par un officier, la brigade de la Reyne, au lieu de se retirer à l'entrée du bois se porta derrière la gauche; il prit sur le champ le parti d'exécuter son mouvement avec la brigade de Royal Roussillon à qui après avoir dépassé le flanc gauche des ennemis il fit faire un quart de conversion à gauche et chargea les ennemis si vigoureusement qu'ils furent mis en désordre et suivis de toute la ligne. Si la brigade de la Reyne eut été à son poste, on auroit enveloppé les ennemis par leur gauche et vraisemblement on leur auroit coupé la retraite sur la place, ce qui auroit été décisif, mais ils se retirèrent avec tant de précipitation et ils étaient si près de la place qu'on ne pût les joindre, nos troupes étant excédées de fatigue, mais ils abandonnèrent toute leur artillerie, munitions, outils, morts et blessés. Leur armée était d'environ 4,000 hommes, et la nôtre d'environ 5,000, dont 2,400 miliciens, mais il y eut plus de 1400 hommes du dit nombre comme la brigade de la Reyne et la Cavalerie, qui n'ont point eu part à l'action; nous avions été obligés de laisser des détachements derrière, et nos sauvages s'étantretirés ne combattirent point.

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"Les troupes donnèrent les preuves dans cette action de la plus grande valeur, s'étant formées sous le feu des ennemis et étant restées longtemps dans l'inaction, ayant ensuite marché aux ennemis avec toute l'intrépidité possible.

"La perte des ennemis malgré l'avantage de leur situation, du terrain et de leur grand feu que nous essuyâmes sans répondre, a été plus considérable que la nôtre.

"Ils ont perdu environ 1000 à 1200 hommes tués ou morts de leurs blessures, estropiés ou dangereusement blessés, 20 pièces de canons, 2 obusiers, les outils et munitions, parmi le nombre des prisonniers il y avait 20 officiers.

"De notre part notre perte a été de 6 à 800 hommes."

Volume 2e. Lettres de M. le Marquis de Lévis, de 1756 à 1762, in folio de 486 pages, contenant 197 lettres.

Ces lettres, d'un intérêt infini, sont adressées aux personnages les plus importants, à Madame la Duchesse de Mirepoix, au Duc de Mirepoix, au garde des Sceaux, au Comte d'Argenson, à M. de Paulmy, au Marquis de Montcalm, au Marquis de Vaudreuil, à M. Bigot, intendant du Canada, au Maréchal de Belleisle, au Roy de Pologne, à M. Berryer, à Madame de Pompadour, au général Murray, au Prince de Beauveau, à Bougainville, à Bourlamaque, au Duc de Choiseul, etc.

Volume 3e. Journal des Campagnes de M. le Marquis de Montcalm, mis en ordre par M. le Marquis de Lévis, in 4to de 550 pages serrées.

Plusieurs parties de ce journal sont écrites de la main même de Montcalm. Le reste est de l'écriture de ses secrétaires. Ce journal est formé de différents cahiers dont voici la suite: —

1o. Journal de 1756, du 3 janv. au mois d'8bre. Suite du même journal jusqu'au mois de may 1757	204 pages.
2o. Journal de la campagne de 1757 commencée le 12 juillet au 1er 7bre	86 pages.
3o. Journal 7bre 1757 au mois de juin 1758	68 pages.

Les dix dernières pages sont de la main de Montcalm.

Continuation du journal 1er juin 1758 au 1er 7bre	64 pages.
Continuation du journal 1758 du 1er 7bre au mois de mars 1757	64 pages.
Avril 1759 continuation du journal	12 pages.

Journal de la campagne de l'année 1759, 52 pages serrées. Ce cahier, écrit d'une main étrangère, très belle et très fine, se termine par le récit de la mort de Montcalm et de la capitulation de Québec.

En voici quelques lignes qui contiennent des détails inconnus: —

"Je restai quelque temps pour voir l'effet du canon que nous avions dirigé sur une colonne, lorsqu'on vint me demander des munitions pour

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Royal Roussillon. J'y courus, toutes nos troupes étaient alors arrivées. Je m'arrêtai un moment avec M. le Marquis de Montcalm qui me dit: 'Nous ne pouvons éviter le combat, l'ennemi se retranche, il a déjà deux pièces de canon, si nous lui donnons le temps de s'établir, nous ne pourrons jamais l'attaquer avec l'espèce de troupes que nous avons.' Il ajouta avec une espèce de saisissement: 'Est-il possible que Bougainville n'entende pas cela!' Il me quitta sans me donner le temps de lui répondre autre chose, mais que nous étions bien petits . . ."

Volume 4e. Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm à M. de Lévis, in 4to, non paginé de deux doigts d'épaisseur contenant 136 lettres. La dernière est le petit billet suivant, écrit de la main de Montcalm, du 11 7bre, c'est-à-dire deux jours avant la bataille où il trouva la mort. Il s'y montre encore plein d'espérance.

11 7bre.

Je réponds par celle ci, mon cher chevalier, à la lettre que vous m'avez écrite le 7. Je manquai le courrier par la faute de M. de St. Sauveur. Rien de nouveau sur l'article des vivres pain et viande, mais n'importe. L'anglois resta-t-il jusqu'au 1er 9bre, nous soutiendrons. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une sincère amitié, Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

MONTCALM.

La dernière lettre de ce volume est signée Martel, garde-magasin du roi, celui-là même qui fut accusé avec Bigot et les siens, et condamné sur conviction de péculat. Cette lettre datée du 14 7bre annonce à M. de Lévis la mort de Montcalm "arrivée à cinq heures du matin," ce jour-là même. Martel ajoute qu'il a assisté à son dernier soupir, ayant passé la nuit auprès de lui.

Volume 5e. Lettres du Marquis de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis, in 4to, contenant 124 lettres.

Volume 6e. Lettres de M. de Bourlamaque à M. de Lévis, in 4to contenant 81 lettres.

Volume 7e. Lettres de M. Bigot à M. de Lévis, in 4to contenant 78 lettres.

Volume 8e. Lettres de divers particuliers à M. de Lévis, in 4to contenant 93 lettres; savoir, —

15 de M. Bernier.
1 de Chs. Saunders.
1 de Cramahé.
7 de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, gouverneur de Montréal.
14 de Péan.
7 de Lemercier.
2 de M. de Bellestre.
1 du Chevalier de Montreuil.
2 de Pouchot.

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9 de Roquemaur.
9 de Bougainville.
5 de Lapause.
2 de Delaar.
6 de Dumas.
7 de Beauclair.
2 de Desandrouins.
4 du Chevalier de la Corne.

Volume 9e. Relations et journaux de différentes expéditions faites durant les années de 1755–6–7–8–9 et 1760.

1755 — Journal de l'expédition des Anglois et prise de Beauséjour . . . . . 43 pages.
1756 — Prise du fort Bul, etc. . . . . 2 pages.
1756 — Expédition du Sr. Villiers vers Chouagen au commencement de la campagne . . . . . 3 pages.
1757 — Expédition sur le fort George par M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil . . . . . 20½ pages.
1757 — Nouvelles Sauvages du fort Niagara . . . . . 30½ pages.
1757 — Relation de la Campagne du Canada, 20 aoust 1757 . 12 pages.
1757 — Relation de l'expédition vers Corlar par M. de Bellestre en 8bre et 9bre . . . . . 25 pages.
1758 — Relation de l'affaire du 8 juillet . . . . . 9½ pages.
1758 — Conseil Sauvage . . . . . 4 pages.
1759 — Relation de cette campagne . . . . . 12 pages.
1759 — Expédition du Chevalier de la Corne sur Chouagen . 2 pages.
1759 — Journal des Anglois, de leur expédition sur Québec, cette campagne . . . . . 22 pages.
1760 — Expédition sur Québec et bataille du 28, lettres de Vaudreuil . . . . . 28 pages.
1760 — Journal du Sr. Vauquelain commandant les frégates . 10 pages.

Canada. — Instructions et mémoires donnés par M. de Vaudreuil et de Montcalm.

May 1756 — Instructions de M. de Montcalm aux commandants de bataillon . . . . . 4 pages.
Juin 1756 — Instructions du même aux commandants de bataillon . . . . . 7 pages.
1757 — Instructions de M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis . . . 4 pages.
1758 — Instruction de M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Montcalm . 8 pages.
1759 — Mémoire de M. de Vaudreuil en réponse à celui remis par M. de Montcalm . . . . . 4 pages.
1759 — Ordre de M. de Vaudreuil pour incorporer les habitants dans les bataillons . . . . . 2 pages.
1759 — Réflexions de M. de Montcalm sur la campagne et réponse de M. de Vaudreuil . . . . . 1 page.
1759 — Ordre donné par M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis pour aller prendre le commandement de Montréal et frontières . 2 pages.

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1759 — Ordre de M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis pour prendre le comman ment de l'armée . . . . . 2 pages.
1760 — Ordre de M. de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis pour prendre le commandement de l'armée et aller faire le siège de Québec 6 pages.
1760 — Lettre et ordres remis par de Vaudreuil à M. de Lévis pour les commandants de navires qui arriveront dans le fleuve et pour les capitaines des milices . . . . . 4 pages.
De plus 17 mémoires, projets et réflexions de Montcalm et autres . . . . . 160 pages.

Volume 10e. Lettres de la Cour.

Catalogue des lettres et états envoyés de la cour aux commandants des troupes de terre en Canada.

Ce volume contient deux livres: dans le premier est tout ce qui a été adressé à M. de Dieskau et Montcalm, et dans le second tout ce qui regarde M. de Lévis (volume petit in folio, non paginé, 3 doigts d'épaisseur).

Volume 11e. Recueil de pièces militaires, etc., in folio très épais, non paginé. La moitié relatif au Canada.

Cette longue nomenclature fait voir quelles richesses historiques sont contenues dans ces onze volumes de manuscrits restés inconnus jusqu'à ce jour.

J'en tire une dernière citation avant de terminer. C'est Bougainville qui félicite Lévis de sa belle victoire de Sainte-Foye, et voici en quels termes :—

A L'ISLE-AUX-NOIX, ce 4 mai 1760.

MON GÉNÉRAL, — Recevez mon compliment sur votre belle victoire. J'en suis d'autant plus enchanté que j'y vois belles maneuvres dans l'action, diligence incroyable dans votre marche, et fermeté faite pour être citée.

Ma foi, vous serez notre père, puisque vous nous avez rendu l'honneur ; et ne prissiez-vous pas la ville, vous n'en seriez pas moins couvert de gloire. Ah! mon général, vous n'avez pas voulu que je fusse avec vous! j'en ai une douleur mortelle ; mais dans ce métier, il faut obéir et non choisir. Nous avons bien perdu, il n'était pas possible de le faire à moins. C'est ici une jubilation sans égale. Nous attendons avec impatience les nouvelles de la suite, c'est affaire à vous pour ne pas perdre de temps.

Rien ici de nouveau. Nous travaillons tandis que vous gagnez des batailles.

Je suis avec respect, mon général, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

On sait que M. de Bougainville a tenu, à l'exemple de ses chefs, un *journal* de ses campagnes au Canada. Ce *journal*, avec sa correspon-

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dance, se trouve encore aujourd'hui aux mains de sa famille. M. l'abbé Casgrain en a fait prendre une copie qui forme un très gros volume grand in folio (de plus de 1300 pages), lequel achève de compléter la série de manuscrits importants que nous venons d'énumérer.

Outre cela, M. Casgrain s'est occupé, pendant son voyage, à compléter les études qu'il a commencées sur l'Acadie: il a voulu cette fois épuiser la matière. Après avoir fait copier les nombreux documents qui se trouvent au Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies et dans les autres Ministères, à Paris, il s'est rendu à Londres où il a également fait transcrire tout ce qui a trait au même sujet, soit au British Museum, soit au Public Record Office. Au British Museum, en particulier, il a mis à profit les manuscrits si curieux du Dr. A. Brown, ce savant ministre presbytérien qui a passé plusieurs années dans la Nouvelle-Ecosse à la fin du siècle dernier et qui a été en rapport avec un grand nombre des auteurs et des victimes de la proscription. De toutes ces recherches, M. Casgrain a rapporté une masse de documents qui vont jeter un nouveau jour sur cette fameuse question Acadienne que certains écrivains ne semblent avoir traitée que pour travestir la vérité et tromper le public.

Mr. WINSOR added that the Headquarters papers of Montcalm found among these manuscripts supplemented the letters of Montcalm which Mr. Parkman procured from the family of that general and from that of Bourlamaque, some years since, and of which there are copies among the Parkman manuscripts. The manuscript which is mentioned in Mr. Parkman's letter as being already in duplicate in Montreal, in the collection of the Abbé Verreau, corresponds to what is called Vol. I. of the preceding catalogue; but that manuscript is said by the Abbé Casgrain, in a letter to Mr. Winsor, to be less complete than the copy now produced. A series of abstracts of official campaign-papers, 1755–1760, was first brought to light in Henry Stevens's "Bibliotheca Geographica" in 1872, as coming from the family of the Chevalier de Lévis. This manuscript eventually found its way into the cabinet of the Abbé Verreau in Montreal, where Parkman saw it, and quotes it in his printed books as "Livre d'Ordres." It is not unlikely that some, if not many, of the letters sent to the commanders in Canada by the French Government, which are contained in one of these manuscript volumes, are already known to us in the Brodhead Collection of Documents, published by the State of New York, and in some of the Collec-

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tions which have been edited in Canada; but there seems to be a great deal among these newly discovered papers which, so far as can be learned from their titles and descriptions, is new and of great importance. Any fresh light thrown upon the battle of Ste. Foye will be of great interest.

Professor HAYNES offered the following remarks upon "driving a pin or nail:" —

In Sewall's Diary (vol. i. p. 405), under date of Friday, May 17, 1695, is found this sentence: "Drove a pin in Major Vaughan's Grist and Fulling Mill." To this the editors have appended the following note: "Repeated instances occur in this Journal of this driving a pin or a nail in a house, barn, or ship. Apparently there was some superstition connected with the ceremony, though we have failed to find mention of it."

In the index ten instances are noted of the use of this expression, but there is no case where it is employed with reference to a ship. Commonly the act is done, either personally or by an agent who is paid for doing it, at the raising of a new house or barn, or most frequently of a meeting-house. Evidently it was done with a symbolic meaning. What was its significance? As the editors have found no mention of any such custom in other writers, it may have been peculiar to Judge Sewall. We know that he was an habitual student of the ancient classics, especially of the Latin authors; and it has occurred to me that perhaps we may find in them an explanation of his peculiarity.

We are told by Livy that in the early ages of Rome, when letters were scarcely known, the Romans kept the reckoning of the years by driving a nail, on the Ides of each September, into the wall of the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol.[1] This ceremony was at first performed by the Consul, at the period immediately subsequent to the expulsion of the Kings; afterwards by the Dictator, when that office existed; and later, by the Prætor. The custom had fallen into disuse, when, on the occurrence of a pestilence and other troubles, it was called to mind by the elders that a similar scourge had been averted after the nail had been driven by the Dictator. Accordingly the custom was revived in the year of Rome 392 (B. C. 360),

[1] Livy, vii. 3.

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and a Dictator was chosen for the purpose of driving the nail (*clavi figendi causâ*); and the same thing was done upon subsequent occasions.[1]

We learn also, upon the authority of the antiquary and annalist Lucius Cincius Alimentus, that a similar method of reckoning the years had been practised among the Etruscans, by whom the nail was annually driven in the temple of the goddess Nortia, at Volsinii. Nortia was the Fortuna of the Etruscan mythology; and with them the nail evidently had a symbolic meaning, implying the fixed decrees of Fate. On an Etruscan mirror, found at Perugia, a winged Fate is represented holding in her hand a nail and a hammer, to indicate the predestined death of the person delineated.[2] From the Etruscans the Romans derived this practice of reckoning the years by annually driving a nail; and that the nail also had a symbolic meaning with them is evident from Horace's picture of Necessity, the companion of the goddess Fortuna, worshipped at Antium, bearing in her hand *clavos trabales*.[3] The symbolic idea associated with the *clavus trabalis*, as representing Fate, became so incorporated into Roman thought and language, that the phrase *clavo trabali fixum* became a proverbial saying, to signify that a thing was unalterably fixed by destiny.[4] We also find Æschylus using the word γόμφος, a spike, with the same symbolic signification.[5]

One of the large bronze *clavi annales*, which was used for reckoning of the years, has been preserved to our own times, and is now in the possession of an Italian antiquary.[6]

Dr. GREEN stated that on Sept. 10, 1857, Benjamin Franklin French, of New Orleans, was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society; and until the appearance of the last volume of Proceedings, his name has stood, for some years, at the head of the roll of surviving Corresponding Members. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, on June 8, 1799; but he resided during a large part of his active life in Louisiana,

[1] Livy, viii. 18, ix. 28; Festus, s. v. "clavus annalis."
[2] Dennis, The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. ii. p. 25.
[3] Horace, Ode I. xxxv. 17.
[4] Cicero, Verres, 2. 5. 21, § 53; Petronius, Satyricon, 75.
[5] Æschylus, Supplices, v. 945.
[6] Rich, The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon, s. v. "clavus annalis."

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where he was engaged in planting and in commercial pursuits. He had previously studied law, but, owing to ill health, was compelled to abandon his profession. He was a voluminous writer on historical subjects, and just before his election to the Society, had completed his "Historical Collections of Louisiana."

Mr. French was one of the founders of the Fisk Library, now belonging to Tulane University, in New Orleans, where there is an excellent portrait of him. Just before the Civil War he removed to New York, where he died, at No. 94 Clinton Place, Eighth Street, on May 30, 1877. He is mentioned in "Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography," now in the course of publication; but the date of his death is not found in any printed work.

Mr. WINSOR presented the following report: —

The Committee charged with attending to the cataloguing of the Society's manuscripts have expended so far about one half of the one thousand dollars contributed for that purpose by Dr. Deane, as executor of the Waterston estate. The Committee have employed in this work Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis. He has written over 20,000 cards, of which more than 5,000 come under the name of Jonathan Trumbull the elder, since the work of cataloguing the manuscripts of the Society during the past year has been exclusively devoted to the Trumbull Collection. The papers of which this collection is composed were originally mounted in scrap-books, which were consecutively numbered. This series was made up of twenty-three volumes, of which the volume numbered nineteen is missing. The twenty-two numbered volumes which remain have been catalogued. As a rule, the manuscripts in these volumes are chronologically arranged. One volume is, however, devoted to papers relating to the Susquehanna Case; one is practically devoted to papers relating to the title of the Pequot Country, and one contains broadsides and newspapers of the Revolutionary period. A volume devoted to military affairs during the Revolution has also been catalogued. As this volume was not included in the numbered series, it has been termed, for convenience, No. 24. A volume called Letter-Book No. 1, containing copies of Governor Trumbull's cor-

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respondence with Generals Schuyler and Gates, is now being catalogued. A similar Letter-Book, called No. 2, contains copies of Governor Trumbull's correspondence with General Sullivan, Governor Tryon, Presidents of Congress, Connecticut delegates, etc. To these volumes Nos. 25 and 26 have been given.

To complete the work of cataloguing this special collection, there remain, in addition to the foregoing, two other Letter-Books, marked, respectively, A and B, and containing copies of Governor Trumbull's correspondence with Washington, with Presidents of Congress, and Connecticut delegates, copies of the correspondence of Governors Fitch and Pitkin with British Secretaries of State, and copies of Governor Trumbull's correspondence with the Massachusetts authorities in 1775, one volume of original letters from General Washington, and one volume containing the letters from William Samuel Johnson, agent at London. Many of the documents in this collection have been published. For instance, copies of the circular letters from the British Secretaries of State and from the Board of Trade, addressed to the Governors of the Colonies, are to be found in the documentary publications of other Colonies. These have been fully indexed in the several publications in which they are to be found, and the more important documents are familiar to historical students. A topical analysis of such documents can more readily be made through these publications than by means of these manuscript volumes. It has been thought better, therefore, to amplify the topical abstract of contents rather upon obscure points and local matters than to parallel work already done. A topical title of each class will illustrate this point. Connecticut found it desirable, quite early in the struggle with Great Britain, to pass laws regulating prices, and to lay an embargo on the export of provisions. Out of these proceedings arose complications which gave rise to further legislation and to extensive correspondence. Care has been taken to collate all references bearing on this topic. References to the destruction of New London are more carefully noted than reports concerning the movements of the enemy by way of Lake Champlain. No attempt has been made, as yet, to unify the catalogue. The grouping of the subjects and the cross-references would be somewhat different, if the cards were to

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be kept by themselves, from what would be required if they are to be mingled with the cards of the general catalogue of the Society.

JUSTIN WINSOR,
R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

April 12, 1888.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the regular reports were presented.

Report of the Council.

The year of the Society just closed is one of the least eventful in its recent history; and at the same time it is one of the most remarkable, for during the last year no one of our Resident Members has died. But to the names of our deceased Honorary Members we must add those of the Rt. Rev. William B. Stevens, D.D., and the Hon. Elihu B. Washburn, LL.D.; and of our Corresponding Members, that of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq. It has also become known to us during the year that Benjamin F. French, Esq., of New Orleans, who was elected a Corresponding Member in 1857, died in New York City, May 30, 1877.

During the year, Solomon Lincoln, A.M., and Edwin P. Seaver, A.M., have been elected Resident Members; John A. Doyle, M.A., and William C. Rives, LL.B., Corresponding Members; and Prof. Ernst Curtius and Hon. Carl Schurz, Honorary Members.

The report of the Treasurer contains some interesting matters which might find place in this report; but instead of repeating, we respectfully refer to them; and to the reports of the Librarian and Cabinet-keeper for the more important accessions in those departments.

A volume of Proceedings for 1886–1887 has appeared; and until recently it was expected that the second volume of the Trumbull Papers and the second volume of Sewall's Letters would be laid on our table to-day; but the appearance of both will be delayed for a few weeks.

The calendaring of the Pickering manuscripts has begun; and the indexing of the manuscripts belonging to the Society is going forward.

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The following list is intended to include the titles of the historical and literary productions of members of the Society during the year, so far as they have appeared in separate publications: —

Tolerance: Two Lectures addressed to the Students of several of the Divinity Schools of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Phillips Brooks.

A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson. In two volumes. By James Elliot Cabot.

The Constitutional Relations of the American Colonies to the English Government at the Commencement of the American Revolution. By Mellen Chamberlain.

The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1629–1685. By George E. Ellis.

Address in Commemoration of the Life and Services of Charles Francis Adams, Quincy, July 4, 1887. By William Everett.

The Boston Massacre. By Abner C. Goodell, Jr.

Mr. Waters' English Researches. By Abner C. Goodell, Jr.

Groton Historical Series. Nos. 1 to 4 of Vol. II. By Samuel A. Green.

Standard Biography: Lights of Two Centuries. Edited by Edward E. Hale.

History of the United States. By Edward E. Hale.

New England Ancestors of Katherine Brattle and William Cary Harris. By Edward D. Harris.

A Discourse on the Anniversary of the Settlement of Marietta, Ohio. By George F. Hoar.

Our Hundred Days in Europe. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Heartsease and Rue. By James Russell Lowell.

American Statesman Series: Including Lives of Henry Clay, Gouverneur Morris, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Franklin. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr.

Building a Character. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Harvard Reminiscences. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Conventionalism in Ancient American Art. By Frederick W. Putnam.

A Few Words about Secession. By John C. Ropes.

American Commonwealths: Including Connecticut and New York. Edited by Horace E. Scudder.

Men and Letters. By Horace E. Scudder.

Diocese of Massachusetts; its Historical Acquisitions and Wants: being the Fourth Annual Report. By Edmund F. Slafter.

Arithmetic in Boston Schools. By Francis A. Walker.

Arithmetic in Primary and Grammar Schools. By Francis A. Walker.

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Memoir of William Barton Rogers. By Francis A. Walker.

The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the edition of 1672, with Supplements through 1686. By William H. Whitmore.

The Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston. By William H. Whitmore.

Record of the Commemoration, November fifth to eighth, 1886, on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Harvard College. Edited by Justin Winsor.

The Mayflower Town. An Address, delivered at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, Duxbury, June 17, 1887. By Justin Winsor.

Manuscript Sources of American History. By Justin Winsor.

Narrative and Critical History of America. Vol. VI. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Was Shakespeare Shapleigh? By Justin Winsor.

Ode to Queen Victoria. By Robert C. Winthrop.

A Short Account of the Winthrop Family. By Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

From the Reports to be presented to-day it will appear that the Society, during the past year, has prospered. It has followed the paths to which it had become accustomed. It has added something to its Library, both printed and manuscript, and something to its Cabinets, which will subserve the purposes of the historian; and the historical work done by its members, and promulgated by its own publications or through the public press, has added something to American history. This is in accord with the purposes of the Society, and expresses the conviction of its members, that, next in value to a national life well lived, is a record of that life, worthily written.

MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, *Chairman.*

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library:—

Books	546
Pamphlets	2,763
Volumes of newspapers	2
Unbound volumes of newspapers	6
Broadsides	171
Maps	4
Volumes of manuscripts	38
Manuscripts	205
In all	3,735

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Of the books added, 441 have been given, 89 bought, and 16 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 2,553 have been given, 152 bought, and 58 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 89 volumes and 152 pamphlets; and 33 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 121 volumes have been bound.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 22 have been given and 23 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 9 have been given and 60 bought. There are now in this collection 1,597 volumes, 4,080 pamphlets, 754 broadsides, and 86 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 723 volumes, 158 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 6,169 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 33,000 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 84,363; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,024.

During the year there have been taken out 40 books and 2 pamphlets, and all have been returned; though with this statement it should be said that the Library is used much more for reference than for circulation.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

April 12, 1888.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

During the past year there have been thirty-five donations to the Cabinet, comprising eleven engravings, twelve photographs, five etchings, one coin, and various miscellaneous articles, as will be seen by the appended list.

Among the engravings are one of Edward Coles, the gift of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; of Hon. John Pickering, presented by his son, Henry W. Pickering; of Governor Bernard, by Rev. Henry W. Foote; of Francis C. Gray; of Governors Belcher and Hutchinson, by Albert K. Teele; and a woodcut of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, by Samuel A. Green.

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Several photographs have also been added to our book of members; but many are still wanting to complete the number.

The catalogue of paintings has been revised and corrected, and is now ready for use.

The following is a complete list of the donations for the year: —

A copperplate engraving of Rev. Samuel Willard, by Gucht. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Photographs of Daniel Leonard and Col. George Leonard. Given by Elisha Clarke Leonard.

Etchings of Houdon, after a painting by Rembrandt Peale, James Iredell, and William Allen, by Albert Rosenthal. Given by Mr. Rosenthal.

A photograph of a part of the old trail from Boston to Plymouth through the West Roxbury Park, June 5, 1887. Given by Augustus Parker.

A sheet of stamps of the American Letter Mail Company. Given by Charles E. Clark.

Engravings of Jonathan Belcher and Thomas Hutchinson, by J. A. J. Wilcox, 1887. Given by Albert K. Teele.

One hundred and sixty-six envelopes used during the Rebellion. Given by Mrs. Mary (Swift) Lamson.

An engraving of Henry W. Longfellow, by John Sartain, after a painting by Thomas B. Read. Given by Daniel Denison Slade.

The centennial medal of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Maryland, struck to commemorate its one hundredth anniversary, 1887. Given by the Grand Lodge of Maryland.

An etching, by Joseph E. Hill, of the table showing the coat of arms of the Clarke family. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A photograph of Boylston Market, 1887, just before it was taken down. Given by Jonathan French.

An artotype copy of a painting of Gen. John Cropper, of Virginia. Given by John Cropper, of New York.

A photograph of the Warren house, Roxbury, after an engraving by Smith Pierson. Given by Augustus Parker.

A photograph of "Redemption Rock," upon which was made the agreement for the ransom of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, of Lancaster. Given by Edward J. Young.

A photograph of the North Middlesex Conference, at Groton, Mass., with a view of the Unitarian Church, Oct. 12, 1887, by W. F. Burns, of Ayer. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

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Five photographs of views in Groton, Mass., by W. F. Burns, of Ayer, 1887: Old Soapstone Quarry, Hayes's Blacksmith Shop, Harry John Blood, and two of Nathan Nutting. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An engraving commemorative of the death of George Washington. Given by James Russell Lowell.

An engraving of Francis C. Gray, by P. Schultze.

An engraving of the ministerial side of the House of Commons, 1854. Given by William W. Greenough.

A woodcut of Robert C. Winthrop, after a painting by Huntington. 1886. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An etching of Francis Bernard, by J. H. Daniels, 1887, after a painting by Copley, in Christ's Church College, Oxford, England, Given by Henry W. Foote.

An engraving of Edward Coles, by Samuel Sartain, after a painting by Henry Brown, 1852. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

Heliotypes of Rev. John Clarke and Rev. William Emerson. Given by Arthur B. Ellis.

A coin (1 schilling), Hamburg, 1765. Given by James C. Davis.

An engraving of John Pickering, by F. T. Stuart, after a painting by Chester Harding. Given by Henry W. Pickering.

An engraving of Manasseh Cutler, by J. C. Buttre. Given by William Parker Cutler.

For a full account of the above, see Record Book, pages 85–87.

F. E. OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

BOSTON, April 12, 1888.

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1888.

The special funds held by him are ten in number, and are as follows: —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for $12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

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II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at $10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to $10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at $22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, for $21,000, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank now amounting to $700.59. The income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of $6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at $1,502.70. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of $3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

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VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of $100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic," in which it is still invested. The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at $3,000. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to $7,850. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society: —

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Five commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of $1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). The income up to the present time has been added to the principal.

Of these funds two — the Peabody Fund and the Richard Frothingham Fund — are invested separately, as has been stated above. The other funds, which stand on the Treasur-

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er's books at $51,606.45, are represented in part by the following securities: $10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1921; $3,000 in the five per cent first mortgage bonds of the Chicago, Kansas, and Western Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1926; $1,000 in an eight per cent mortgage bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., not registered, and due in 1892; twenty-five shares in the State National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of $100 each; and one share in the Boston Gas-Light Co. of the par value of $500. The aggregate amount at which these securities stand on the books is $18,868.50. The balance ($32,737.95) is an incumbrance on the real estate, and shows a reduction of $6,735.57 during the year in the amount of our funds which have been temporarily invested in the real estate of the Society.

Besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the last Annual Report of the Treasurer, but it has not been thought necessary to reproduce this account at the present time. It will be sufficient to remind the members of the fact, and to add that when these gifts were received the Society was not in a financial condition to create any permanent funds.

By a change of securities during the year the amount of the Savage Fund has been raised to $6,000 and the General Fund to $7,850. But in consequence of the lower rate of interest now obtainable on satisfactory securities, the income will be less than it has heretofore been, — a circumstance very much to be regretted, as the income of the Savage Fund especially has always been insufficient for the demands made on it.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts: —

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CASH ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1887.		
March 31.	To balance on hand	$502.28
1888.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows: —	
	General Account	10,616.23
	Investments	4,500.00
	Savage Fund	500.00
	Anonymous Fund	1,000.00
	Consolidated Income	625.00
	Income of General Fund	180.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00
	Income of Savage Fund	150.00
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	225.90
		$19,719.41
March 31.	To balance brought down	$298.45

CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By payments as follows: —	
	Investments	$12,861.25
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,174.15
	Income of Savage Fund	403.50
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	194.20
	Income of Appleton Fund	51.63
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	669.67
	Consolidated Income	191.67
	General Account	3,874.89
	By balance on hand	298.45
		$19,719.41

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1887.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	$1,214.73
1888.		
March 31.	To sundry payments: —	
	J. H. Tuttle, salary	1,500.00
	A. B. Page, salary	700.00
	Printing Sewall's Letter Book	286.27
	Printing, stationery, and postage	104.79
	Cataloguing manuscripts	566.00
	H. F. Waters, for researches in England	100.00
	Fuel and light	151.05
	Care of fire, etc.	281.44
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	185.84
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	350.00
	Consolidated Income	2,161.59
	Building Account	6,735.57
		$14,386.78
March 31.	To balance brought down	$3,195.77

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CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building	$9,000.00
	Interest	89.54
	Income of Dowse Fund	524.78
	Admission Fees	50.00
	Assessments	850.00
	Sales of publications	676.69
	By balance to new account	3,195.77
		$14,336.78

Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To amount paid copyist	$51.63
	„ balance carried forward	3,557.68
		$3,609.31

CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	$2,968.94
1888.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	640.37
		$3,609.31
March 31.	By balance brought down	$3,557.68

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	$ 194.20
	„ balance carried forward	10.14
		$204.34

CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	$46.90
1888.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	157.44
		$204.34
March 31.	By balance brought down	$10.14

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To amount paid on account of 5 Coll. X.	$669.67
	„ balance carried forward	1,510.84
		$2,180.51

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CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By amount brought forward	$1,805.73
April 1.	„ seven months' interest on $10,000 principal	350.00
1888.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	524.78
		$2,180.51
March 31.	By balance brought down	$1,510.84

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	$389.40
1888.		
March 31.	„ dividends received	200.00
	„ copyright received	25.90
		$615.30
March 31.	By amount brought down	$615.30

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	$524.78

CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	$524.78

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1887.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	$3,045.59
1888.		
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing, binding, etc.	1,174.15
		$4,219.74
March 31.	To balance brought down	$2,749.74

CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	$1,470.00
	„ balance carried forward	2,749.74
		$4,219.74

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books	$403.50
	„ balance carried forward	113.00
		$516.50

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CREDITS.

1887.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	$51.63
April 1.	„ interest on railroad bonds	150.00
1888.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	314.87
		$516.50
March 31.	By balance brought down	$113.00

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	$298.45
Real Estate	103,280.19
Investments	43,991.50
Income of Peabody Fund	2,749.74
General Account	3,195.77
	$153,515.65

CREDITS.

Building Account	$70,542.24
Appleton Fund	12.203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,502.70
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	7,850.00
Anonymous Fund	1,050.75
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,510.84
Income of Appleton Fund	3,557.68
Income of Savage Fund	113.00
Income of William Winthrop Fund	10.14
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	615.30
Income of General Fund	437.00
	$153,515.65

From these abstracts it will be seen that the sum of $566, from the gift acknowledged in the Treasurer's last Annual Report, for cataloguing the manuscripts, has been expended during the year, and that the sum of $434 remains for continuing the work. The cost of publishing the Early Proceedings and the Consolidated Index to the Proceedings having largely exceeded the means available for the purpose, the income of the Peabody Fund is charged with a considerable debt. This debt, however, has been reduced $295.85 during

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the year, and probably it will be reduced still further in the next twelve months. Nothing has been charged to the income of the Richard Frothingham Fund; and the income of this fund will soon amount to a sufficient sum to warrant the completion of the Catalogue of the Cabinet. After paying the remainder of the cost of the volume of Trumbull Papers, which it was expected would be laid on the table at the annual meeting, a sufficient sum will remain to the credit of the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund to justify the preparation of another volume. The amount to the credit of the income of the Appleton Fund is now sufficient for the publication of the volume of Winthrop Papers and the Calendar of Pickering Papers, both of which have been unexpectedly delayed. After the publication of the second volume of Judge Sewall's Letter Book, which is nearly ready, it is not probable that it will be necessary to charge the cost of any other volume of Collections to the General Account. But until all the funds which are now an incumbrance on the real estate are reinvested, considerable sums must be set apart every year for the reinvestment of those funds.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, March 31, 1888.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1888, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

SAMUEL C. COBB, } *Committee.*
ROGER WOLCOTT, }

BOSTON, April 9, 1888.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN, for the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, submitted the following report; and the persons therein named were unanimously elected: —

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President.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D . . . . . BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. . . . . WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

Librarian.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., A.M. . . . . BOSTON.
HON. JOHN LOWELL, LL.D. . . . . NEWTON.
HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B. . . . . WORCESTER.
GEORGE S. HALE, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.
WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

On motion of Dr. PAIGE, the thanks of the Society were voted to the retiring members of the Executive Committee.

In the afternoon the members of the Society were entertained at the house of the President, No. 110 Marlborough Street.

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MAY MEETING, 1888.

THE Society met on the 10th instant, and, in the absence of the President, Dr. DEANE occupied the chair.

The Recording Secretary read his record of the last meeting.

The Librarian made his monthly statement.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., in behalf of the Committee appointed to revise the By-Laws, made the following report, which it was voted should be printed, and, together with a copy of the existing By-Laws, sent to every member of the Society, and acted upon at the October meeting.

The Committee appointed to consider the expediency of making any changes in the Society's By-Laws respectfully submit the following recommendations and amendments. They recommend as follows: —

First, That Resident Members be hereafter elected, not merely from among citizens of Massachusetts, but from among citizens of Massachusetts who habitually reside some considerable part of each year within this Commonwealth, in order that resident membership may be something more than a name.

Second, That the Society be at liberty to elect Corresponding Members from among persons residing in other States or countries, without regard to citizenship.

Third, That the contingent forfeiture attached to resident membership be made to depend, as it formerly did, upon removal from the State; liberal allowance being made for temporary or official absence.

Fourth, That the contingent forfeiture attached to corresponding membership be made to apply only to such Corresponding Members as may become both citizens and inhabitants of Massachusetts.

Fifth, That the number of Corresponding Members be limited to the number of Resident Members; and that the num-

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ber of Honorary Members be limited to twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries.

Sixth, That it shall be the duty of the Council to consider, from time to time, the claims of all persons who may have been proposed for membership, by the entry of their names in the nomination-book; but that no nomination, whether for honorary, corresponding, or resident membership, shall be reported to the Society, unless the name of the candidate shall have been entered in this book at least thirty days, and shall have subsequently been assented to by at least seven members of the Council; all nominations whatsoever to be accompanied by a brief statement of the place of residence and qualifications of the nominee.

Seventh, That, in addition to the Committee annually appointed to examine the property of the Society in the keeping of its Treasurer, and to report thereon, a Committee of three members be annually appointed to examine the property of the Society in the keeping of its Librarian and its Cabinet-keeper, and to report thereon; and that the existing rule which requires the Council to verify the entire contents of the Society's Library and Cabinet in each successive month of April be modified so as to require this verification only at such intervals as the Council may appoint.

In conformity to the foregoing recommendations the Committee propose the following amendments to the text of the By-Laws, to wit: —

CHAPTER I. Strike out the first article and substitute the following: —

"ARTICLE 1. The Resident Members of the Society, who alone are entitled to vote, shall be elected from among citizens of Massachusetts who habitually reside some considerable part of each year within this Commonwealth, and the Society shall be at liberty to transfer their names to its roll of Corresponding Members if they remove from the State; provided, however, that a liberal allowance shall be made for temporary or official absence.

"Honorary and Corresponding Members shall be elected from among those persons who reside in other States or countries, and the membership of Corresponding Members shall cease if they become both citizens and permanent residents of this

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Commonwealth. The number of Corresponding Members shall never exceed the number of Resident Members; and the number of Honorary Members shall never exceed twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries."

ARTICLE 3 of the same Chapter to be slightly altered so as to read: —

"All nominations shall be accompanied by a brief statement of the place of residence and qualifications of the person nominated."

CHAPTER VIII., now consisting of a single article entitled "Of the Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts," to be hereafter entitled "Of the Committees on the Treasurer's Accounts, the Library, and Cabinet," and to consist of three Articles, namely: —

"ART. 1. At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee of not less than two members shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year preceding, and the state of any funds of the Society in his hands, and to report thereon at the April meeting.

"ART. 2. At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee of not less than three members shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the property of the Society in charge of the Librarian and the Cabinet-keeper, and to report thereon at the April meeting.

"ART. 3. These Committees shall be designated by the Chair, unless otherwise ordered, and shall be required to report in writing or in print."

CHAPTER XII. The first article to be amended so as to read as follows: —

"ART. 1. The Council shall, from time to time, carefully consider the claims of all persons whose names have been proposed for membership, and, as vacancies occur in the Society, by death or otherwise, shall, at their discretion, report nominations; but no nomination, whether for Honorary, Corresponding, or Resident Membership, shall be reported of any person whose name has not been entered in the nomination-book at least thirty days, and which shall not have subsequently received the assent of at least seven members of the Council."

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The third article of the same Chapter to be amended so as to read: —

"ART. 3. They shall cause to be made, as often as may seem expedient, a thorough examination of the Library and Cabinet of the Society, in order that the books, pictures, manuscripts, and other articles may be carefully compared with their respective Catalogues."

Before preparing this Report, the Committee endeavored to draw the attention of the whole Society to the By-Laws, and they succeeded in eliciting some valuable suggestions from members interested in the subject; but they much regret that their colleague, Dr. Everett, was compelled to resign by reason of his numerous engagements. The alterations now proposed are, in the judgment of the Committee, desirable, but not urgent. For this reason no immediate action is asked for, but only that, when the Society is ready to deal with the amendments, they may be considered on their separate merits, and not necessarily as a whole.

CHARLES DEANE,
R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

May 8, 1888.

Mr. J. P. QUINCY presented a diary kept by his grandfather, President Quincy, giving an account of a journey made by him through the southeastern parts of New England in 1801; and it was referred to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

Account of Journey of Josiah Quincy.

1801. *June* 3. I sat out from Boston on an excursion to the South Eastern parts of New England, in a chair, accompanied by my wife. We passed the first night at Dedham, with our friend Edward Dowse.

June 4. The next day we proceeded to Providence, having dined at Wrentham, and stayed an hour at Pawtucket. In general the road is rough and hilly, and the prospects little various or cultivated. Woodland, pasturage, and meadows chiefly occupy the face of the country. The houses which we passed evidenced neither thrifty nor ingenious proprietors; except, indeed, those in Wrentham and its vicinity. The falls at Pawtucket are the objects on this route most worthy the attention of the traveller. They are formed by several ledges of rocks extending in broken lines across the bed of the river. The centre layers, being

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nearly at right angles with each other, collect the waters from both sides of the stream and dash them down to a point. This, which is called "the Pot," is of immense depth, whence the flood is eternally rising in rage and foam. In the Eighth of a mile the whole descent is about Sixty feet. A bridge, which is erected over the centre ledges, hides much of the grandeur of the scene. This is also diminished by the divertion of the water from the falls, occasioned by numerous canals, cut for the use of manufactories, erected on each side of the river. These consist chiefly of Iron, paper, and cotton works, in the last of which a very complicated and ingenious machinery performs all the requisite labour. We found the proprietor very cautious of admitting strangers to view its operations, nor would he grant us the privilege until he had received satisfactory assurances that we were as ignorant and unconcerned about every thing relating to the cotton manufacture as he could wish. All the processes of turning cotton from its rough into every variety of marketable thread state, such as cleaning, carding, spinning, winding, etc., are here performed by machinery operating by Water-wheels, assisted only by children from four to Ten years old, and one superintendent. Above an hundred of the former are employed, at the rate of from 12 to 25 cents for a day's labor. Our attendant was very eloquent on the usefulness of this manufacture, and the employment it supplied for so many poor children. But an eloquence was exerted on the other side of the question more commanding than his, which called us to pity these little creatures, plying in a contracted room, among flyers and coggs, at an age when nature requires for them air, space, and sports. There was a dull dejection in the countenances of all of them. This, united with the deafening roar of the falls and the rattling of the machinery, put us into a disposition easily to satisfy our curiosity.

June 5. A violent storm prevented us from seeing as much of Providence as we intended. Having both of us been in this place before, and finding our lodgings not very commodious, we proceeded, in the rain, about Ten miles, to Warren. The road lies through a well-cultivated country, interspersed with two or three thick woods, through which the traveller passes, and is made pleasant by a variety of fine prospects. Warren is situated upon a river of its name, which joins Providence river about two miles from the village. Everything about it bears the marks of industry, frugality, neatness, and prosperity, very equally diffused. Accordingly, our Landlord, a very intelligent and communicative Yankee, assured us that the town had no poor to support, and that no one of its inhabitants was so far above his neighbours as to be called rich. This man, who was both tavern-keeper and carpenter, I found in deep political discussion with Mr. Fessenden, the schoolmaster, and Mr. Phillips, who was at once the principal village

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trader, its custom-house officer, Postmaster, and printer. Fessenden was not less oracular, nor solemn, in his responses, than his predecessor whom Goldsmith celebrates. The hammer and the adze were motionless as he displayed before the master and the journeyman, in the workshop, "all he knew." This scene was the more pleasing to me as Fessenden's politics were sound, and as he appeared to be a worthy and well-principled man. He was polite, and offered to accompany me in viewing the Town. It is built upon two or three streets, about half a mile in extent, running parallel with the river, and upon others crossing these at right angles. The houses are of two stories, generally painted, and within appear remarkably cleanly and commodious. Rows of cherry-trees, planted in front of most of the houses, give the place an uncommon air of improvement and taste. The church and the Freemasons' hall are the only public buildings. The former is handsome, and the latter, having some gilded insignia of the craft at each of its ends, has more decoration than any other in the town. It is of two stories, — the upper destined for *the awful* secrets of the lodge, the lower for a town school. This was Fessenden's hobby, across which he was astride as soon as we were in sight of the house, and rode most cheerily until we turned our backs upon this deposit of his hopes. "I expect it will accommodate forty youth," said he, "of both sexes. It is to be called an Academy, and is to be under my direction and that of a preceptress, who I intend shall be the most accomplished female that can be procured from Boston." Upon this he gave me an insight into all the depth and extent of his plan of instruction, in all which it was plain the good man had worked up his imagination to view Warren in vision the seat of the muses, and himself as nothing less than high priest of Apollo.

There is sufficient depth of water in Warren river to float vessells of 150 Tons burthen, loaded. A considerable carrying trade is also supported, by the inhabitants, in vessells built on this river.

June 6. From Warren to Bristol Ferry, a distance of Six miles, there is a constant succession of beautiful landscapes, combining the prospects of Providence and Warren rivers, the Islands they contain, and the country at a distance, all highly cultivated. Bristol, through which we passed, two miles from the ferry, is a flourishing place, and is the shire-town of a county of its name. It is situated on a bay formed by the waters of Providence river, and includes within its boundaries Mount Hope, celebrated in the ancient history of our country as the residence of King Philip. Bristol carries on a considerable trade, of which that in slaves has not been the least successful, as several very elegant seats were pointed out, for which, we were told, the owners were indebted to that traffic.

Bristol ferry is at the confluence of the rivers Taunton and Provi-

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dence, which meet in Narraganset Bay, at the North end of Rhode Island. The ferry is half a mile wide, is well attended, and has good boats. Mount Hope lies towards the North West, and rises gradually, with a beautiful slope, from Taunton river. It is eleven miles from Bristol ferry to Newport, by the Eastern road. This passes nearly through the middle of the Island, and abounds with numberless fine views of it, of Narraganset Bay, on its East and West side, of Providence and Taunton rivers, and Mount Hope Bay. The roads are excellent, and the soil rich and willing. All the wood upon this Island was cut off by the British during the war, so that there is at present none but what is of late growth. Marks of improvement are here rare. From the appearance of the buildings, one cannot refrain from believing, what is said to be the fact, that on this Island everything has been, to say the least, stationary for thirty years past. Newport, situated at its Southern extremity, is scarcely upheld from decay. Providence, lying at the head of navigation, has attracted from it the principal parts of the enterprise and wealth of the state, and has attained a superiority which, in consequence of its insular situation and distance from the country, Newport seems to despair of regaining.

We returned from Newport, by the same road, to Howland's ferry, which we crossed about sunset. This ferry is near the Northerly end of Rhode Island, and separates it from Tiverton. Narraganset Bay is in this place about a third of a mile in breadth. The relics of a fine bridge, twice carried away by the rapidity of the current and by worms, give a melancholy effect to the prospect. This night we lodged at Tiverton, and proceeded the next day Eighteen miles, to New Bedford.

June 7. The appearance of Tiverton is wretched enough, — at least, the part of it we saw. This is made up of three or four houses situated near each other; one of which is a grog-shop, called a store, and two of which are taverns. The inhabitants seemed vicious, ignorant, and conceited. The miserable, dirty looks of every object about us hastened us away, on Sunday, in disgust. The roads from Tiverton, through Westport and Dartmouth to New Bedford, are exceedingly bad. Rocks, deep ruts, and hills covered with stones made it impracticable for us to put our horse on any other gait than a walk during this day's journey. Wood and apple-orchards seemed the principal produce of the country, of which last there were many and very fine. At Westport, our quaker landlady compensated for very homely fare by her neatness and unaffected anxiety to please. The effects of the principles of her sect upon houses, life, and manners are very obvious, from this place to New Bedford, as the quakers form a principal class of the inhabitants.

June 8. New Bedford is divided by a river, which now bears its name, but which was by the indians called Acushnit, or Aquisnit. This runs from the North, and empties into buzzard's bay, at the South

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part of the Town. On its right bank is the principal village of the Town, called New Bedford. On its left are two others, the higher called Oxford, the lower Fair Haven. All these are neat, flourishing settlements, particularly the first. A Bridge, nearly a mile in length, unites the Town, but which, although commodious, does not give a sufficient income to the proprietors. Here is a good harbour for vessells of a common burden. The water is, at the bridge, about Twenty feet at low, and twenty-five at high tide. Three Packets ply constantly from New Bedford to New York, and the same number to Nantucket. The rate of fare of the former is four dollars without, and Seven with finding supplies, for a passenger. The rate of the latter One dollar, and he provides for himself. A stage runs to Boston through Taunton every other day, and returns on the intermediate one.

June 9. The regular packets to Nantucket being all absent, we took passage for this place on board a wood sloop belonging to a Capt. Lawrence. The wife of our Captain and Doc^r^ Tupper of Martha's vineyard were fellow passengers. In descending the river, the different villages of New Bedford, planted on each side, have a pleasing effect. Palmer's, a small and rocky island, in the middle river, about a mile from the town, makes the navigation somewhat critical for large ships. The river empties itself into Buzzard's Bay, between Sconticut point on the East, and Clark's neck on the West. The latter of these has a small light-house erected on it. After passing Sconticut point, West's Island succeeds, on North East side of the Bay, and the Elizabeth Islands form its southern boundary. The names of these are Nonimasit, Nashant [Naushon], Pesk, Nashiwinna, Penniquees, and Cuddihunk. We landed at the first, which is separated from the second by a narrow creek navigable for boats only. These two Islands are the property of James Bowdoin, Esq., and the most valuable of the whole. The former, as his tenant assured me, netts $350 annually, and the latter at least $3,000. Nonimasit is fifteen miles from New Bedford. We dined at the house of Paul Robinson, Mr. Bowdoin's principal tenant. Its appearance was antique, but neat and comfortable. Every thing about it indicated good living and thrift. The soil of this Island is weak and sandy. All of the cluster appeared destitute of wood, although I was assured there was enough in the interior. On Nashant deer run wild, and are protected to the proprietor by an act of the legislature.

Through these Islands there are three passages into the vineyard sound, of which vessells take advantage as wind and tide serve. The most frequented though rocky and narrow navigation lies between the North East point of Nonimasit and the South Westerly parts of Falmouth, and is called Wood's hole. A second between Nashant and Pesk is called Robinson's hole. A third, between Pesk and Nasha-

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winna, Quick's hole. In the afternoon, the wind failing, we could only by aid of the tide, which sets at the rate of nine knots an hour through Wood's hole, get through this passage, and anchored in a small bason called Wood's hole great harbour, lying on the Westerly side of the extreme South Westerly point of Cape Cod. Wood's hole little harbour is on the Easterly side of the same point. We passed the night on shore, at a Widow Parker's. Our accommodations were good, the landlady and her family very respectable, and the situation, commanding a prospect of Buzzard's Bay on one side, and the Vineyard sound on the other, and of the Islands interjacent, very delightful and romantic.

June 10. From Wood's, the course is South East to Holmes' Hole, on Martha's vineyard. The Sound is in this part about Six miles wide. Opposite to Holmes' Hole, and in sight of it, is the village of Falmouth. It has at a distance the appearance of a compact settlement, containing two churches and perhaps Forty houses. The harbour at Holmes' Hole is very commodious for ships of any burden, as it is deep, bold, and capacious. It has, however, no protection against North East Winds. This place is a famous refuge from storms in the winter, and its inhabitants are celebrated pilots, who get their living by conducting vessels through the difficult passes of the islands. Martha's vineyard is twenty-one miles long and Six wide. It is well supplied with wood. The aspect of it from the Sound is naked and arid. It is divided into three Towns: Edgartown on the East, Tisbury in the Centre, and Chilmark at the West. The first includes Old Town, the second Holmes' Hole; the last the Elizabeth Islands. Chappoquiddock is a small Island at the North East point of Martha's Vineyard, and separated from it only by a narrow Channel. Cape Poge, its Northerly point, is a noted landmark. Government, it is said, contemplates the erection of a light-house upon it, — a work, from its situation, obviously necessary. Old Town harbour is situated upon the East side of the Vineyard, on a small channel, which separates it from Chappoquiddock. The harbour is commodious, and the place carries on some, though no considerable, trade. From Cape Poge the general course to Nantucket is N E and East. We passed in sight of Tuckanuck and Muskeket, two small islands which lie at the North West end of Nantucket.

This Island lies in the shape of a crescent, the hollow of which faces the North West. Sandy point is at the North, Elle point at the West. It is about fifteen miles long and three wide. The town of Nantucket lies near the centre of the Island. It appears from the harbour as large as Salem, but exhibits no marks of elegance or splendor. Peleg Coffin, Esq., treasurer of the Commonwealth, had given us letters to a Capt. Obed Hussey, who received us as boarders. Our

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landlord, a jolly, sensible, Epicurean seaman, having beat about the ocean as a whale-fisher the best part of sixty years, had at length retired into harbour. He possessed a handsome competence, and took boarders for the sake of society, in so retired a spot as Nantucket, rather than for profit. His wife, a neat, motherly, precise quaker, was the perfect contrast of her husband. This, however, broke no squares in the family. The captain shook his fat sides in laughter at least every quarter of an hour, to which she moved in a sort of concert, rather from habit than constitution. His is the best boarding-house on the island. It is on a wharf, the most busy in the Town, having, as the Capt. assured me with great satisfaction, the sea flowing under the whole of it every tide, — a circumstance I did not relish so highly as my landlord, as it was accompanied by a considerable dock effluvia.

Hussey's good-humour and his wife's kindness balanced all inconveniences. My landlord took charge of the letters of introduction with which Mr. Coffin had furnished us, and I took a walk round the town. The houses, with but one or two exceptions, are built wholly of wood, and have but two stories. By far the greater number are without paint, and with those which have it, red is the predominant colour. They are built generally upon the street, and a few are ornamented with poplar-trees of a small growth. The streets are without pavement, and of a light sand. This in the centre of the street is at least half-shoe deep, but at the sides there is more hardness. There are four wharves in the Town, on which business appeared lively, notwithstanding that, as the fishermen were chiefly at sea, it was less brisk than usual. Its harbour is difficult of access, as it abounds in shoals. Nothing is omitted, however, for the security of mariners. Five or six buoys, a light-house at sandy point, another on Brant point, and a Beacon on the Island, warn them of dangers, and form objects by which they regulate their courses. The town stands on the West side of a small Bay, on the North side of the Island. Brant Point, projecting from the extreme North West side of the harbour to the South East, and point Courtou, opposite to Brant point, projecting to the South West from the North East side, form and protect it. Here is anchorage for vessells of any burthen. There are in the Town five or Six rope-walks, and a twine manufactory. The custom of riding in horse-carts, here called Calashes, has a very odd appearance to a stranger; it is, however, common even with the most respectable and wealthy inhabitants. The sandiness of their roads renders springs unnecessary; and as all the inhabitants have something to do with navigation, machines which can convey themselves and their goods with equal ease are very convenient. Chaises are owned in the island, but are esteemed articles of splendor. At dusk we went to the Town Gate

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and saw a herd of Three hundred and Fifty cows returning from pasture under the care of two herdsmen.

In the evening Mr. William Hammatt and Mr. Josiah Barker, to whom we had letters from Mr. Coffin, called and invited us to a party they had made for us to the East end of the Island. Hammatt is a widower. Barker apologized for his wife, who is a strict quaker, and a delegate to the general meeting of friends at Newport, for which place she had just taken passage. Our landlord and wife, who were, I found, companions for the best on the Island, were invited. Very early in conversation with these gentlemen I discovered the passions which the famous Nantucket Bank prosecution, for its robbery, had planted in the island, and which will never cease to rankle under the bosoms of the present generation of inhabitants. They were both, as also Capt. Hussey, friends of the accused, and spoke with an honest and becoming indignation of the injurious charges made against the most worthy men on the Island, and which, by the villainy of some and the weakness of others, through perjury and artifice, had nearly effected their conviction and ruin.

June 11. According to appointment, we rode to the East side of the Island, taking a circular route to the South East part of it. Our host and wife, Messrs. Hammatt and Barker, a Capt. Gardner, and Mr. Folger were of the party. We passed through places called, by their Indian names, Polpis, Squam, Sessakisha, and Siasconsit, dined at Tom Never's head, and returned at dusk to Nantucket. The almost total want of trees, houses, and fences, in the interior part of the Island, makes the road very uninteresting to the traveller. Once in every two or three miles a single farm-house appeared, surrounded by half a dozen dwarf cherry-trees. Such an assemblage is a wood on Nantucket, where there is not a tree of native growth. Except in the neighbourhood of the town, there is no division of lands, but the whole Island is separated into three great lots, called the upper, the lower, and the middle pastures. These are marked out by three fences running the whole width of it. This arrangement results from the nature of the property of the inhabitants, which is, as far as it respects the far greater part of the Island, a common proprietary. The account given me of this singular institution was that at its first settlement the whole Island was divided into Twenty-seven shares, to each of which was allotted forty acres of "house lot" land. These forty acres constitute the chief of what is called "inheritance" land, because they are held in severalty, and are regulated by the same rules as other real property in the Commonwealth. The residue of the proprietors' property consists in the right of a common tillage and pasturage, regulated by the principles established by the proprietary. By these every share entitles the proprietor to the pasturage of forty-five horses, or Ninety cows, or Seven

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hundred and Twenty sheep, besides his annual privilege of a division in the tillage land. As the number of inhabitants have increased, it has been found convenient to regulate all transactions by the smallest divisions of the right, and the divisions of the original twenty-seven shares are now sold by the name of Sheep's commons, one being equal to the pasturage of a sheep, Eight of a cow, and Sixteen of a horse. Regular records of all their proceedings are kept by the proprietary. In the spring of every year they meet and determine, voting according to the Sheep's commons they possess, which pasture shall be tilled, which appropriated for cows and horses, and which for sheep. A committee is then appointed to allot the tillage land into as many divisions as there are rights, and to mark and number each. The proprietors then draw lots for the division every individual is to enjoy in severalty the ensuing year. He then takes possession of it, and tills and plants it as he pleases; the only boundary between him and his neighbour being a narrow furrow which by any other than a native's eye cannot be distinguished from other furrows in the field. The tendency of this scheme to exhaust the land, is easily seen, as no possessor has an interest to give it any permanent improvements, but, on the contrary, to impoverish it as much as possible. This conspiracy against land naturally poor has been eminently successful in reducing it to the most miserable and hungry state possible; for which reason the most sensible proprietors have been and are still anxious to break up the original constitution of property; but the small proprietors, who are the majority, find an interest in the present system, and the prejudices of the inhabitants favor it. The cows feed under the charge of two herdsmen, and are driven home every night; but the sheep run at large during the whole year, each owner of which has a particular mark, registered in the records of the proprietary, and persons are appointed to put upon the lambs the earmark of their parents. Annually, in June, all the sheep on the Island are brought into two droves, the one for the East, the other for the West end of it, and are all sheared together by shearers procured by the proprietor. Sixteen thousand sheep will be sheared this year in two days. This period is therefore a great festival. Not only great numbers come from the continent as shearers, but multitudes of hucksters and traders flock to the island at this time to buy wool and vend their wares; so that shearing-time, on Nantucket, is a sort of fair, resembling in everything but splendor and literature a Cambridge Commencement. The cultivated pasture had a most wretched aspect. The spires of grain looked weak, and the land turned up by the plough had the appearance of a sand-heap. Upon examination I found the soil superior to its promise. Below the white sand there is a fine black and a fine red sand. These, partaking of the nature of loam, are nutritive, and render land useful

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here, which from its appearance would not be thought, on the continent, worthy of cultivation.

The two principal villages are Sesàkicha and Siasconsit. Both lie on the South East bank of the Island, about two miles from each other, and have nothing between them and Europe but the Atlantic expanse. They are mere temporary residences for fishermen, who come up from the town and reside here during two months in the Spring and two months in the fall, — the fishing seasons. They were at present deserted by all except one family left in each for its protection. A singular neatness and comfortable arrangement prevailed in these fishermen's resorts. The houses are but of one story, having a high pitched roof, but possessed of every necessary accommodation. We tarried half an hour at Siasconsit. There are here about thirty houses, built in three rows, in the form of streets, commanding an extensive prospect of the ocean. At Tom Never's head, which is a remarkable headland, at the most Southern point of the Island, there is but one house, about a quarter of a mile from the shore. At this we dined. Here was plenty, with neatness and good-humour: a kind talkative landlady, attentive and hearty companions. In the Evening we drank tea at Mr. Hammatt's, where Dr. Peter Easton, son in Law of Mr. Coffin, with his wife, were introduced to us, and gave us an invitation to dine with them on the next day at one o'Clock; twelve being the usual Nantucket hour of dinner, which was postponed out of complaisance to us.

June 12. We rode to Elle point, the North West extremity of the Island, a distance of about Eight miles. In these, want of cultivation and of inhabitants is greater than in the parts we visited yesterday. After having rode two or three miles from the town, there is nothing in prospect but land and sky, except, as you progress to the shore, views of the water. Neither house, tree, grain, nor fence is to be seen. Three or four horses and thirty or forty sheep, straying at will over the rough extent, were the only objects to fix the eye. The surface of the country is broken into small hills, and covered with a thin and weak grass, shooting seemingly from sand. We passed two or three small ponds of water, abounding, as we were told, with very fine fish, at which the chief pleasure parties of the inhabitants terminate. Nantucket whale-fishers pursuing perch in a pond half a mile in circumference are objects ludicrous enough. Our landlord, however, was of a different opinion. Like his neighbours, he had transferred his affections from the cable and Harpoon to the hair-line and hook, and vaunted no less of the activity of his old age than of his youth. The difference of the theatres did not seem to enter his thoughts.

During our ride we observed a man on horseback scampering over the country, and visiting every knot of horses within his sight. After

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occupying himself half an hour in this way, he came up to us, enquiring if we had noticed a horse with certain marks, which he enumerated. He had been riding, he told us, over a third of the Island to find him. This process, to which all they who "common" their horses must submit, sometimes requires half a day to execute, and if the horse be wild, the owner is lucky if it does not require another half to take him. I would not be unjust, however, to the steeds of Nantucket, whose blood flows in a current very orderly and corrected, and who do not in general put their masters to much expense of breath in running them down. They are generally twelve or fourteen hands high, very meagre and patient under the affliction of the whip. Indeed, the custom which their owners have of turning them loose and leaving them to shift for themselves during the winter months cannot contribute to benefit their spirits or constitution. This practice, which would be thought cruel with us, is less injurious than one would expect, as their winters on this Island are much more mild, as their summers are also more temperate, than upon the continent.

We dined at Dr. Easton's, a young practitioner of physick, a native of Newport, removed here for the sake of his profession. Mrs. Easton is a daughter of Mr. Coffin. They were very friendly and polite. Their house and establishment are in a style as elegant — by which name, however, it can scarcely be called — as any upon the Island. Easton appeared to possess a solid, well-informed mind; and his wife was kind and motherly. The shortness of our acquaintance gives us no authority to judge concerning occult qualities and general character. As this island is secluded from intercourse with idle travellers, what is called taste and fashion cannot be expected to predominate at their entertainments; but all the substantial and honest parts of hospitality they have in as great extent and as much reality as their neighbours. Messrs. Barker, Hammatt, Capt. Gardner, and his partner Albert Gardner were of Easton's party. The last was one of the victims of bank malignity in (name not given), and took his trial, with four others of the first character and rank on the island, on an indictment for robbing the bank. He appeared to be a man of feeling and spirit. His friends assured me that he had never recovered the shock of that prosecution; notwithstanding he had been acquitted, and public opinion had done him and the rest of the accused justice, that the wound then inflicted upon his peace of mind would never be closed.

After dinner we took a walk to the twine manufactory. About twenty young women are the only spinners, and earn fifty Cents daily in the works. We were next shown some of the best grass and clover fields on the island, and which, being of that description called "house lot" land, had been inclosed and manured. It was surprizingly fine, compared with any I had seen on Nantucket, but scarce above mediocc-

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rity compared with the like species on the Continent. After taking tea at Dr. Easton's and amusing ourselves with four fine children of his, we returned to our lodgings, and found that Capt. Lawrence, the honest old quaker seaman who had brought us to Nantucket, had called on us and left an invitation for us to take tea at his house the next day.

June 13. Having made our arrangements for leaving Nantucket, we did not neglect to return the civility of Capt. Lawrence and wife by a short visit. Lawrence had seen better days, and had been upon a level, in point of property, with the principal inhabitants of the Island. But misfortunes had beset his old age, and he was just preparing to remove his family to Alexandria; preferring to descend into an humble sphere among strangers, rather than to remain in a place where every object reminded him of his lost prosperity. Mrs. Lawrence, an old quaker, was very kind and affectionate; regretted that she could not see more of us, and would not suffer us to leave her house until she had put up a bottle of cordial for my wife's refreshment on her passage.

At 12 o'Clock at Noon we took the packet for New Bedford. Our landlord followed us to the vessell and bad us a hearty farewell, promising not to pass us without a notice when he should come to Boston. The wind, which at first was very favorable, soon failed us, and with difficulty we cast anchor in Holmes' Hole harbour. We passed the night on shore at a public house, which was neat and plentifully provided. This harbour is a common rendezvous for ships in the winter, affording them a secure retreat from storms, being well protected against all winds except the North East. Our landlord assured us that it was not uncommon at that season for Sixty sail to be lying here three weeks, waiting for an opportunity to pursue their voyage. Our lodgings, situated on the Easterly side of Holmes' Hole harbour, commanded a fine view of it, and of its principal settlement, on the opposite side, of the Vineyard sound, of the Town of Falmouth, and of the coast of Cape Cod.

June 14. Our seamen roused us before dawn, and after a delightful sail we landed at New Bedford at Twelve o'Clock. In the afternoon we attended divine service. Dr. Samuel West, celebrated for the strength and metaphysical acuteness of his mind, officiated. He is not less remarkable for singular slovenliness and oddity of behaviour. He is now above seventy; his person disgustingly dirty, and his manner careless to a degree that is indecent. His sermon was an hour long, delivered extemporaneously, and full of successive repetitions both of language and idea. It showed, however, a noble structure of intellect in ruins. But both his own reputation and the honor of the desk require that he should cease officiating. The meeting-house is small but new, very simple and neat in decoration. The audience seemed more inclined to sleep, or to laugh at their pastor, than listen to him;

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for both of which improprieties they have a more than ordinary apology.

June 15. We this day resumed our chair, and passing through a country of little variety and affording little to observe or to interest, we reached Plymouth, the landing-place of our fathers. The town is built upon a hill, which rises rapidly from the bay. The highest part of this hill, used for a burial-ground, commands a most extensive and variegated prospect. The rock so famous as the spot on which our ancestors, in Dec. 1620, first stepped, has been divided. One part has been conveyed a quarter of a mile to the Center of the Town. The residue lies in the centre of a wharf, but is left uncovered to gratify the curiosity and pride of the inhabitants.

June 16. We continued this day our homeward course through a rich and flourishing part of the country. A thunder-storm detained us at Weymouth, where we passed the night, and the next day returned to our family in Boston.

DISTANCES AND TAVERNS.

From Boston to Wrentham . . .	27 miles.	Whitney's tavern at W. very
Wrenth^m^ to Pawtucket . . .	14 "	good.
Pawtucket to Providence . .	4 "	Aldrich's, decent for gentlemen, but inconv^t^ for ladies.
Providence to Warren . . .	10 "	Cole's, an excellent house, kind, neat, and attentive family.
Warren to Bristol ferry. . .	6 "	
Bristol ferry to Congdon's . .	6 "	a tavern, on the Eastern road in the centre of Rhode Island — a very good house.
Congdon's to Newport	5 "	
Newport to Howland's ferry .	11 "	at Tiverton on the East side of this ferry Gen^l^. Howland keeps a tavern, miserably provided and dirty.
Howland's ferry to Westport.	9 "	Wilk's tavern, neat and kind, but illy provided.
Westport to New Bedford. .	9 "	Crocker's, neat, well provided, and attentive.
New Bedford to Nantucket .	60 "	By water — at Wood's hole at the South West point of Cape Cod Mrs. Parker's is a very excellent Tavern; at Holmes' Hole, on the East side of the harbour, Davis's is a very good house.
New Bedford to Plymouth .	18 "	

Mr. WHITNEY referred to the history of the town of Milton, by Albert K. Teele; and he read several quaint and amusing extracts from the journal of the Rev. Peter Thacher, the first

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pastor of Milton, which is contained in the Appendix, and reminds one of the diary of Judge Sewall.

Dr. GREEN communicated a paper on the population of Groton at different times, with some notes on the Provincial Census of 1765: —

The town of Groton was formerly a much more important place relatively, both in size and influence, than it is at the present time. According to the census of 1790, it was then the second town in Middlesex County, Cambridge alone having a larger population. At that time Groton had 322 families, numbering 1,840 persons; and Cambridge, 355 families, numbering 2,115 persons. Charlestown had a population of 1,583; and Newton, 1,360. Reading, with 341 families (19 more than Groton), numbered 1,802 persons (38 less than Groton). Woburn then had a population of 1,727; Framingham, 1,598; Marlborough, 1,554; and Waltham, 882. Pepperell contained 1,132 inhabitants; Shirley, 677; Westford, 1,229; and Littleton, 854.

There were at that time in Middlesex County 41 towns, which number has since been increased to 48 towns and 6 cities; and in the meanwhile Brighton and Charlestown have been merged in the municipality of Boston, and thus have lost their separate existence. Major Aaron Brown, of Groton, and General Henry Woods, of Pepperell, were the marshals who took the census of the county, with the exception of that small portion lying on the further side of the Merrimack River.

The town of Groton was incorporated on May 25, 1655; and its territory originally comprised 64 square miles, which was considerably increased by the liberal measurement so common in those days. In a report made on May 23, 1661, by a committee consisting of Mr. Thomas Danforth, a noted surveyor of early times, Captain Edward Johnson, the historian, and Ephraim Child, it is said that this territory would afford comfortable accommodations for 60 families at least, that might subsist by husbandry. When it is stated that there are now living, within the original limits of Groton Plantation, more than 9,000 inhabitants, it will be seen how vain are human predictions and calculations.

A comparison of the population of the town at different

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periods is somewhat interesting to those familiar with its history. John Tinker, in a petition to the General Court, dated October, 1659, four years after the incorporation of the town, says that the Plantation "Continueth vnpeopled." The report of the committee, — of which Thomas Danforth was chairman, — dated May 23, 1661, and already quoted, states that there were four or five families "planted" at that time. In March, 1676, when the town was burned by the Indians, it was estimated by the Rev. William Hubbard, in his Narrative, that there were then 60 families in the place. Another writer of that period puts the number of dwellings destroyed at 66, and says that only 6 houses were left standing. From these estimates it would appear that the population of the town at the time of its destruction was between 300 and 350 inhabitants. From March, 1676, until the early spring of 1678, the settlement was abandoned and entirely deserted. In March, 1680, there were 40 families in the town, as appears by some statistical returns printed in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (V. 173) for April, 1851. In March, 1707–8, there were 67 polls ("Collections of the American Statistical Association," p. 146), which would indicate a population of about 300 persons. At the beginning of the year 1755 there were 14 negro slaves in town — seven men and seven women — who were sixteen years old or upwards.

On June 2, 1763, Governor Francis Bernard sent a message to the General Court, expressing his wish that a census of the Province might be taken; but that body paid no heed to the suggestion. On January 19, 1764, he renewed the proposition, and apparently with better success; for the Legislature, on February 2, adopted an order carrying out his wishes. The popular heart, however, was not in the work, and no interest was taken in the measure. The people were suspicious of the rulers in England, and jealous of all political interference; and it is but natural that the census proceeded slowly. On March 5, 1765, an Act was passed by the General Court to carry into effect an order which had previously been passed for numbering the people within the Province. This action shows that the Governor's pet scheme was not receiving a warm support.

With these drawbacks, and under such conditions, the first census of the houses, families, and number of people in the

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Province of Massachusetts Bay ever taken was finished in the year 1765. Singularly enough, there are now no returns of this enumeration among the Provincial or State archives, where they were undoubtedly placed. How or when they disappeared is a matter of conjecture; but probably they were lost amid the confusion that naturally prevailed during the Revolutionary period. Fortunately a copy of this census was found by the late Judge Samuel Dana, of Groton, among some papers of a deceased friend, which had then lately come into his possession; and by him sent to the "Columbian Centinel" newspaper, where it was printed for the first time in the issue of August 17, 1822, more than half a century after the enumeration was made. From this source is derived all the information concerning the figures of the census of 1765; and the printed copy, in the absence of any other, is an authority second in importance only to the original manuscript returns. At that time the town of Groton had 1,408 inhabitants.

In his letter to the editor of the Centinel, Judge Dana suggests that the copy — presumably the original document — should be sent, after it was printed, to the Antiquarian Society for preservation in its library. If he meant by this expression the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, it appears not to have been done. Within a few weeks a careful search for it has been made by the librarian, but without success; and no record of the missing document is found among the accessions of that period. After it had been used as "copy" by the printers, it doubtless was thrown away.

In the early days of library management, loose manuscripts and other papers were not guarded with that care which they now receive, and consequently were more liable to loss. I mention this fact, because these missing census returns were once probably in the possession of the Historical Society. Among some gifts made to this library by the Rev. Dr. James Freeman, on April 9, 1791, is a "List of Inhabitants in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in 1764 and 1765" (Proceedings, vol. i. p. 8), which does not appear in the Society's Catalogue published in the year 1811; nor is there now any clew to it. The Catalogue of 1796 does not give the separate manuscripts. Perhaps this list was taken out from the library by a member at some time between the years 1791 and 1811, and never returned. Subsequently it may have drifted into Judge Dana's

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hands, and thus found its way to the public through the columns of the Centinel.

Akin to this subject, there is now in the Society's library a memorandum-book of forty-five pages, which contains some interesting facts connected directly or indirectly with the population of the Commonwealth during the Revolutionary period. Mr. Felt, a former librarian, evidently used it in preparing an article on the population of Massachusetts, which is published in the first volume of the "Collections of the American Statistical Association" (Boston, 1847). In his paper Mr. Felt gives nearly all the statistics found in the book, and speaks of it as "a manuscript of credible authority" (p. 157), though without mentioning it more specifically. The number of white persons within the State in the year 1776, and the number of polls in 1778 and 1781, as well as other statistical items, are also given, though it is not known by whom the record was made. According to this authority the population of Groton in the year 1776 was 1,639; the number of ratable polls in 1778 was 362, and the number in 1781 was 395.

In compliance with a resolution of Congress, an Act was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts on July 2, 1784, requiring the assessors of towns to make certain returns, from which it appears that there were at that time 418 polls in Groton. This was the largest number returned by any town in the county, with the single exception of Cambridge, which had 457 polls; and after Groton came Reading with 399 polls, and Woburn with 395, followed closely by Framingham with 389.

At the several decennial dates of the United States census the population of Groton has been as follows: in the year 1790, 1,840; 1800, 1,802; 1810, 1,886; 1820, 1,897; 1830, 1,925; 1840, 2,139; 1850, 2,515; 1860, 3,193; 1870, 3,584; and 1880, 1,862. The town of Ayer was incorporated on February 14, 1871, and made up almost entirely from the territory of Groton, which accounts for the great diminution in the population between the last two decennial periods, as given above. The new town started on its corporate existence with a population nearly equal to that of the parent town, and, with all the vigor of youth, soon surpassed it in size.

The population of Groton, as taken by the State in the quinquennial years, has been as follows: in the year 1855,

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2,745; 1865, 3,176; 1875, 1,908; and 1885, 1,987. By all the enumerations, National or State, made during the present century, it will be seen that there has been a steady increase in the population of the town, with the exception of the period between the years 1860 and 1865, when there was a slight decrease of 17 inhabitants; and of the period between 1875 and 1880, when there was a falling off of 46 inhabitants. The loss in the first instance was due, of course, to the disturbing influence of the Civil War.

The population of Ayer in the year 1885 was 2,190; and if that village had not been separately incorporated, the population of Groton would now be considerably more than 4,000 inhabitants. According to the last State census there were 32 towns or cities in Middlesex County larger than Groton, and 21 towns smaller.

The original Groton Plantation, as granted by the General Court on May 25, 1655, has furnished the entire territory of Ayer; the whole of Pepperell, with the exception of a narrow strip lying along its northern boundary, which once belonged to the West Parish of Dunstable (Hollis); the whole of Shirley, with the exception of a small portion formerly known as "Stow Leg;" one half of Dunstable; and has contributed more or less to form five other towns, — namely, Harvard, Littleton, and Westford (including a part of Forge Village), in Massachusetts, besides Nashua and Hollis, in New Hampshire. The total population of this territory is now between 9,000 and 10,000 inhabitants.

SUMMARY.

Population of Groton at different Times.

Town incorporated on May 25, 1655; in October, 1659, "vnpeopled;" in May, 1661, four or five families; in March, 1676, about 300 inhabitants; in March, 1680, forty families; in March, 1708, 67 polls; in March, 1765, 1,408 inhabitants; in 1776, 1,639 inhabitants; in 1778, 362 polls; in 1781, 395 polls; and in 1784, 418 polls.

Year.	Inhabitants.	Year.	Inhabitants.
1790	1,840	1855	2,745
1800	1,802	1860	3,193
1810	1,886	1865	3,176
1820	1,897	1870	3,584
1830	1,925	1875	1,908
1840	2,139	1880	1,862
1850	2,515	1885	1,987

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Judge CHAMBERLAIN said that those who have read Mahon's History of England will recollect the quotation (vol. vi. p. 121) from Gordon, that Samuel Adams's "necessities probably urged him [when a collector of taxes] to supply himself time after time from the cash in hand;" and also that, in his Appendix, his Lordship informs us that he undertook to get at the facts, with the assistance of an American friend, but with indecisive results.

A similar charge by Hutchinson, written about the same time as that of Gordon, but published forty years later, was investigated in this Society in 1883, and the conclusions arrived at may be found in Vol. XX. of our Proceedings. In that discussion I took a hand quite extemporaneously, and hazarded the conjecture that Hutchinson's charge that Samuel Adams "made defalcation" as a collector of taxes possibly meant no more than that he failed to *collect* them; and while my remarks were going through the press I chanced to find in one of Hutchinson's messages a use of the word "defalcation" which seemed to warrant that conjecture. I must, however, have had some misgivings in respect to such a reading of Hutchinson's text, for I find that I referred to Gordon's charge, in unmistakable terms, of a grosser offence. And now, since the publication of that portion of the Boston town records contained in the Eighteenth Report of the Record Commissioners, and especially, after consulting the original books of the town treasurer of the period, entitled "Supplemental Journal No. 9," and "Leger No. XIII.," I am reluctantly obliged to say that Hutchinson undoubtedly meant that Samuel Adams used the town's money for his own purposes; but I do not now propose to discuss the truth of the charge.

Mr. BANGS presented to the Society a small book, saying: —

This little volume, said to be "now rare" (Miss Johnston's "Original Portraits of Washington," p. 25), contains thirteen portraits of American patriots, including one of Washington, drawn by Pierre Eugène du Simitière (or Simetière), "Painter and Member of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia," who lived in Philadelphia, and died there in 1784. The date of publication is May 10, 1783; but the

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drawings were made probably some years earlier, for "S. Huntingdon" is described in the volume as "President of the Congress," and Samuel Huntington was President of Congress from Sept. 28, 1779, to July 6, 1781. General Arnold also appears in the volume as "drawn from the life," and he deserted to the enemy in September, 1780.

Washington was in Philadelphia during January and part of February, 1779; and it seems not unlikely that this portrait was drawn then, when he was almost forty-seven years old (born Feb. 22, 1732).

That the portraits were really drawn from the life, we have Washington's own testimony. In a letter to William Gordon, dated March 8, 1785, he says: —

"If M. du Simitière is living, and at Philadelphia, it is possible he may have miniature engravings of most, if not all, the military characters you want, and in their proper dresses. He drew many good likenesses from the life, and got them engraved at Paris for sale. Among these I have seen that of General Gates, Baron Steuben, and others; as also of your humble servant." [1]

Dr. GREEN announced the decease of Ephraim George Squier, whose name stands at the head of the roll of Honorary or Corresponding Members, and who died on April 17, in Brooklyn, New York. He was born at Bethlehem, New York, on June 17, 1821, and was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society June 29, 1848. He was the author of several works relating to the history and antiquities of this country and Central America.

[1] Sparks's Washington, vol. ix. p. 100.

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JUNE MEETING, 1888.

THE last meeting before the summer recess was held on the 14th instant, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, the President, being in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Recording Secretary.

The donations to the Library for the previous month were reported by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT then said: —

We have to recognize the loss by death of two names from our roll since our last meeting. Henry Morris, LL.D., elected a Resident Member in 1882, died in Springfield, on June 4, in his seventy-fourth year. He was born in that town in 1814, and spent there his whole mature life, performing many valued services and winning many public honors. Graduating at Amherst in 1832, he at once began his law studies in the office of his father, then judge of probate, and followed a diligent and successful practice. He had been elected to a seat in the National House of Representatives in 1854, but before occupying it resigned it to accept a judgeship in the Court of Common Pleas. This he held for four years, when the Legislature abolished that tribunal, substituting for it the Superior Court. Returning to practice, he served in many civic offices, and was for two terms in the State Legislature. Inheriting from his father historic tastes and valuable historical documents, he was one of the founders and the first president of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society. Among his many publications is an account of the burning of Springfield by the Indians, in October, 1675; a History of the First Church in Springfield, of which he had been for many years a deacon; and an oration on the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town, delivered two years ago.

This Society has its share — and that a large one — with our whole community, in the loss experienced by the decease of our associate, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, at his home at Jamaica

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Plain, on the 8th instant. With the deepest sympathy also do we join in the expressions of respect and high appreciation for his lofty character, his broad scholarship, his varied and valuable services in so wide a range of activity, usefulness, and expanded philanthropy. His full span of life was crowded with labors of the mind, and with devotion to every cause of righteousness and humanity. The tributes paid to him so fondly, so earnestly, in the first shock of bereavement, do but open the series of later and ampler recognitions of the breadth of his culture, the purity, gentleness, and warmth of his heart, and the catholicity of his temper and spirit.

It is for us especially to place upon our records our appreciation of what he was to us, and of the interest and value of what he contributed to our meetings and publications. During the nearly ten years of his membership his attendance here was even more frequent than we might have looked for in the days and years of a life so crowded with occupations, either of which might well have engrossed his thought and time; for we can hardly think of him as having had any leisure. And when he was present here, we were always sure that if he said anything, it would be wisely and kindly spoken. As I recall several of those occasions, I am reminded that a charm and freshness were always added to his references to persons and matters of the past by some interminglings of personal experience and reminiscence. To him we owe much of what has been communicated here of the inner life, the character and writings, as well as the memoir in our Proceedings, of Mr. Emerson. His account of his visit to Nazing, the English home of the apostle Eliot and his fellow-exiles, and his last delightful speech here, connecting family and youthful memories with the old Swan house in Dorchester, have a peculiar grace. His sympathetic yet judicial estimate of the character and course of John Brown is a fair example of the balance in which he weighed the qualities of human nature.

Prof. ARTHUR L. PERRY, LL.D., of Williamstown, was appointed to write a memoir of Judge Morris; and the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody was appointed to prepare one of Dr. Clarke.

Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES then spoke earnestly and affectionately of his classmate and friend, alluding

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to the close bonds of friendship which united the Class of 1829, and expressing the feeling which each member shared, that if James Freeman Clarke was present all was right, but if he was absent the heart of the meeting was gone. In college he was one of the liveliest and most agreeable of companions. His room in old "Massachusetts" was the meeting-place of a small company of us, who used to discuss the "Noctes Ambrosianæ," and the last poem of "Delta" in Blackwood, with now and then a story or a song, and often a game of chess, of which some of us were very fond. James was a daring, dashing fellow by nature. On one occasion an effigy was hung out of a window of Stoughton, in open defiance of all college proprieties. Whom it represented is more than I can say; but it was flaunted in the face of the college building from which it was suspended, and of Holworthy, which stood at right angles. All at once the string by which it hung gave way, and the figure, made up of the raiment and bed-clothes of different members of the class, who could easily be identified by the marks on them, fell to the ground. There was a panic; for the watchful eyes of Dr. Popkin commanded, from his windows, the whole transaction. Suddenly a youth dashed out from one entry, caught it up in his arms in triumph, and dashed into another entry of Stoughton. There was great wonder as to who this young hero was, who, at the risk of suspension or rustication, had come to the rescue. It was the same James Freeman Clarke who, when a man, climbed to the top of Salisbury Cathedral, four hundred feet in the air, and laid his hand upon the cross.

Mr. Clarke was always scholarly, and known as having a poetical gift. He was thoroughly believed in by his old school associates. He followed his own lines of study rather than aimed at class eminence, taking, however, a respectable rank. After leaving college our paths parted, but I heard from him occasionally when he was at the West, and often, in conversation since, he has told me anecdotes of his life there, which showed how largely it added to his rich experiences. There, as everywhere, his path was marked, like that of a stream which carries verdure with it, by the growth of thought and character of those around him. I do not think he went anywhere without carrying that kind of personal influence which a good and wise man always produces. After his return among us

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our intimate relations were renewed. We all watched with interest his brave struggle for his own religious freedom and that of his people. We were not all of us in sympathy with Theodore Parker; but none of us who loved truth and religious liberty could help admiring and sympathizing with the position assumed by Mr. Clarke in behalf of freedom of speech in the pulpit.

As an author, our book-shelves show a long array of volumes from his hand, which have done a vast deal to extend and liberalize religious thought, and to commend the larger creed of modern Christendom to the judgment of his countrymen, and others beyond the limits of his own country, through translations. Although he confined his writings mainly to religious and moral subjects, he occasionally ventured into the fields of literature for its own sake. His translations from the German are faithful, graceful, and fluent; and his occasional poems — notably the last, written and given to the public so recently — show that, had he devoted himself to letters, he would have added largely to his reputation by his labors in that direction. Nothing human seems to have been without its interest for him; but his fine instincts kept him to the nobler subjects of thought, and his desire of being useful gave a strenuous impulse to all he did. One of the earliest advocates of the slave, he was, from first to last, faithful to the cause of liberty. Every utterance, every printed word, of his is on the side of human freedom. He was ready to suffer for it, and did suffer in his earlier worldly prospects. If he had fallen on other times, he would have been its willing martyr. He lived to overcome all opposition and all hostilities. Not everybody agreed with him, but all admired and held in affectionate reverence the character of this man, so filled with the spirit of truth and love.

The strength of his character, the solidity of his judgment, and the patience with which he sustained the load of duties laid upon him, made him seem like a pillar, a massive column, in our social fabric. But in another point of view he was more like a living caryatid, shifting his place as he was wanted here or there, but always bearing up something which needed his support. He was to be met with everywhere, wherever he could help in any good task. He kept up with the political, philanthropic, and literary activity of the times, and he was

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growing to the last moment. The sweetness of his character won the hearts of all around him; and if he spent the strength of his latest years too lavishly, it was because he loved so generously and felt the calls for his sympathy so deeply that he could not remember how precious his life was to his fellow-workers and to the whole community.

A second volume of Trumbull Papers — containing letters of General Washington, Governor Trumbull, and others, and a General Index to the Fifth Series of Collections — was ready for delivery to members of the Society at this meeting; and Mr. WARREN stated upon what principles it had been edited.

Mr. C. C. SMITH communicated the following paper: —

In examining the Winthrop Papers for material for the forthcoming volume of Collections, the Committee have found a copy of a curious and important paper, relating to the colonial trade in the early part of the last century, which does not come within their plan, but which I desire now to communicate for publication in the Proceedings. It is very similar in character, and in some places identical in phraseology, with a report printed in the New York Colonial Documents (vol. v. pp. 30–33), which was addressed by its author, Col. Robert Quary, to the Lords of Trade, in January, 1707–8, three months earlier than the present report. But this later report is not the same document, and was addressed to a different board, — I presume to the Commissioners of Customs in London. In our Collections (4th series, vol. vii. pp. 223–243), a former committee printed from a manuscript in the British Museum, signed "Robert Quarry," and dated "New York, June 16, 1703," — a much longer but equally spiteful and malicious report, addressed to the Lords of Trade. In their report the Committee for publishing that volume say that Colonel Quarry, who died about 1712, was "a kind of Government Spy in this country." This is fully confirmed by the reports bearing his name which have since come to light; and it is not less certain that he meant to make himself acceptable to his employers by sending home "unfavorable representations against the Colonies." The report now communicated is excessively venomous, and shows that Colonel Quary, or Quarry, had not grown more friendly to the Colonies by a longer residence on this side of the Atlantic.

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It is not known how the copy of this report found its way among the Winthrop Papers; but it is supposed to have come either from the papers of Joseph Dudley, whose daughter, Ann, married John Winthrop, F.R.S., the son of Wait Winthrop, or from the papers of Thomas Lechmere, sometime surveyor of customs in Boston, who married a daughter of Wait Winthrop. Among the manuscripts in the possession of the Historical Society is the following certified copy of the commission under which Quary claimed to act: —

To all People to whom these Presents shall come Wee the Comissioners for Managing & causing to be levied & Collected her Majtes Customs Subsidies and other Duties in this her Kingdom of England send Greeting Know yee that wee the said Commissioners Have by Virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of King Charles the second Entituled An Act for the Encouragment of the Eastland & Greenland Trades And for the better Securing the Plantation Trade And in pursuance of the Authority & Directions to Us given by the Right Honoble the Lord High Treasurer of England Deputed & Impower'd And Doe hereby Depute & Impower Colonl Robert Quary to be Surveyr Generall of all the Rates, Duties & Impositions arising & growing due to Her Majesty in the severall Colonies on the Coast of America by Virtue of the said Act Whereby he hath Power to enter into any Ship, Bottom, Boat or other Vessell As also into any Shop, house, Warehouse hostry or other Place whatsoever, to make dilligent Search into any Trunk, Chest Pack Case Truss or any other parcell or package whatsoever for any Goods Wares or Merchandizes prohibitted to be Imported or Exported or whereof the Customs or other Dutyes have not been duly paid And the same to Seize to her Majties Use And also to put in Execution all other the Lawfull Powers & Authorities for the better managing or Collecting the said Duties In all things proceeding as the Law directs Hereby Praying and requiring all & every her Majtes Officers and Ministers And all others whom it may Concern to be Aiding & Assisting to him in all things as becometh Given under Our hands & Seal at the Custom house London the second day of November in the second year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Ann Annoq Domini. 1703.

STAMP.

STAMP.

THE CUSTOM HOUSE SEAL.

SAM: CLARKE. T: NEWPORT. A: MAYNWARING. JO: WERDEN. RICH: BRETON.

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By the honoⁱᵇˡᵉ Charles Gookin Esqʳ Lieutenant Governʳ of Pensylvania &c. Memorandum That on the twenty ninth day of Aprill 1709 Personally appear'd Colonˡ Robert Quary and on his Corporall Oath did Declare that the above Deputation is a true Coppy of the Originall now in his Custody which he produced & was Examind before me

[SEAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.]

Robᵀ Quary

Capᵗ et Jurat die loco et Annº Supdict Coram me
Cha: Gookin

Recorded at Large in the Publick Records of her Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England, in book Nº D.
Pr me Caleb Stanly *Secretary.*

The report of Colonel Quary is as follows: —

May it please yoʳ Honʳs:

I have since my last to yoʳ Honʳs vissited all yᵉ Northern Governmᵗˢ on yᵉ Maine, and shall here give yoʳ Honʳs a true state of every place, so farr as relates to yᵉ trade of it.

The first place I went to aftʳ I left New Yorke was yᵉ east end of Long Island, where are three towns of some note & trade, East Hampton, South Hampton, & Southold. Most of yᵉ inhabitants are concerned in whale-fishing, and do make good quantities of oyle & bone, yᵉ greatest pᵗ of wᶜʰ is bought up by yᵉ people of New England governmᵗ, who trade there wᵗʰ sloops, and do supply yᵐ wᵗʰ all sorts of European goods, as allso wᵗʰ yᵗ of yᵉ West Indies. These towns, and all Long Island, are in yᵉ governmᵗ of New York, tho' above 150 miles distance from it. There is no officʳ appointed for this, tho' it is by yᵉ Collʳ of New Yorke Patent within his district. Yᵉ great distance betwixt yᵗ place & New York puts it out of yᵉ powʳ of yᵉ Collectʳ to take yᵉ requisite care of it, & its almost impossible for yᵉ vessells yᵗ trade there to entʳ and cleare at New York; so yᵗ they have for many years constantly carry'd on an illegall trade. Goods carry'd to yᵐ from Curaco & all yᵉ towns in yᵉ Northern Governmᵗ, wᵗʰout either entry or clearing His Excellᶜʸ Lord Cornbury hath severall times lately sent a sloop, well man'd, & made seizure of some of there vessells wᶜʰ have been condemn'd. This makes yᵉ people very uneasie. They complain'd to me of there unhappy circumstances, for want of an officer. They cannot subsist wᵗʰout trade, and it is impossible for yᵐ to enter

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and clear at New York; so y^t its absolutely necessity y^t force'd y^m to violate y^e laws of trade. I must own y^t there case is very hard, and therefore, knowing y^t yo^r Hon^rs are willing to make all y^e Queen's subjects easie in relation to trade, so far as may be consistant w^th y^e law, I found out an expedient to gratify y^m to there content w^thout charge to her Maj^ty. This I did by putting y^m und^r y^e inspection and management of y^e offic^r w^ch I have settled at y^e Seabrook in y^e province of Connecticott, it being just opisite to y^e east end of Long Island. Nothing parts y^m but a small sound, and is in y^e way of all vessells that goe to or from these towns, and so may ent^r and clear and be searched w^th out loss of time or any oth^r ill conveniency. Aft^r I had settled all things in this island, I hired a sloop to carry me to New London, w^ch is y^e seat of governm^t for y^e province of Connecticott. I went to y^e Governo^r, one Coll Winthrop; I deliv^d him yo^r Hon^rs lett^r, w^ch he rec'd and me very kindly, but he desired me not to look too narrowly into mistakes of y^t governm^t I found y^t there was great reason for this caution; for when I went to examine y^e custome-house, I found nothing but confusion and roguery. I was surpriz'd of many dishonest practices acted in y^e place before I went, but did not expect to have found matt^rs so very bad. Y^e p^rson y^t acted as collect^r was one M^r Wethered, a villain of there church, but a great rogue, w^ch I am sure yo^r Hon^rs will believe when I tell you y^t there is no villainy y^t a man in his post cou'd do but was constantly practiced by y^m.[1] Severall vessells y^t made trade of running tobacco from y^e out ports of Virginia w^thout entry or clearing came directly to this governm^t, and landed y^e tobacco here; but w^t is far worse, he gave false certificates for y^e shiping of this tobacco to oth^r of y^e plantations, in w^ch he certifies y^t y^e tobacco so illegally imported was legally imported, and y^t y^e Queens duty was paid. I found some of these false certificates filed in y^e custome-house of Boston, where considerable quantities of tobacco hath bin sent, as well as to oth^r places. It would tire yo^r Hon^rs should I give you y^e History of this mans unjust and extravagant actings. He hath admitted vessells and goods from all parts w^thout any regard to y^e law. He show'd me a deputation from M^r Brenton,[2] but when I came to discourse M^r Brenton, and to charge him with y^e notorious ille of his deputy, he disown'd y^t he had any thing to do w^th him, or had any charge of y^e governm^t; but y^t yo^r Hon^rs had discharg'd him from any further care and inspection of y^e Collect^r of New York, w^ch appear'd to me very improbable. Since it is at least 150 miles from New York, y^t it is impossible for y^t

[1] In the report to the Lords of Trade, printed in the N. Y. Colonial Documents, "Mr. Withred" (Wetherell) is characterized as "a Pillar of their Church," which is, no doubt, what Colonel Quary wrote, or meant to write, here.

[2] Jahleel Brenton was Collector of Customs at Boston for many years, as well as for the Colony of Rhode Island, where he died in 1732.

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Collectr to have any regard to it; so yt between both no care was taken of yt governmt, and was ye reason of all ye mischeife done there. Before I leave this governmt give me leave to acquaint yor Honrs yt this is a populous country, and hath five or six ports of trade, some considerable. Ye people are of a very turbulent, fractious, uneasie tempr. I cannot give there characr bettr yn by telling yor Honrs yt they have made a body of laws for there governmt, wch are printed, ye first of wch laws is yt no law of England shall be in force in there governmt till made so by an act of there own; and wn I have told yor Honrs this I think there is no furthr roome to admire at any extravagancy acted in yt governmt. I have turned out this Collectr; but I think this is but very smal reparation for ye injury and injustice he hath done to her Majty, and wt furthr to do I am at a lose, considering where he is At my return I sent thither a very ingenious, active man, acquainted wth ye governmt, one Capt John Shakemaple, and have given him full instructions and powr to inspect all ye severall ports in ye governmt.[1] And for ye conveniency of entring and clearing and searching ye vessells yt goe to and from ye towns on ye east end of Long Island, I have directed yt he make his residence at Sea Brook, being ye place of greatest trade, and just opisite to Long Island. Till he hath settled his business in those severall rivrs, and can get an honest deputy or two, he must be almost always in motion, wch will make ye duty very hard, and therefore was forced to promise yt I wou'd recomend him to yor Honrs for an allowance of forty or fifty pound a year salery, else he wou'd not undertake ye duty. I am sure he will very well deserve it, and her Majty be a gainr by it, and be reimburst by seizures beside ye preventing illegall trades so constantly practiced in ye governmt, for wch reasons I humbly request yor honrs confirmation of this salery to him. Aftr I had spent some time in this province, and full viewed ye sea coast, and informed my self as well as I cou'd concerning ye trade

[1] In the General Assembly of Connecticut, Jan. 1, 1707–8, "Capt. John Shackmaple presented to the Deputy Governor a letter directed to our late Governor Winthrop, from Coll. Quarry, surveyor general, signifying that he had commissioned and deputed the said Capt. Shackmaple to be her Majesties collector, searcher and surveyor of her customs in this colonie, which letter and commission was read in council." (Ct. Col. Records, 1706–1716, p. 89.) At a meeting of the Governor and Council, June 16, 1715, Captain Shackmaple "produced a commission signed by Coll. Robert Quarry, Surveyor General, dated October 1st, 1707, and a commission signed by M. Birchfield, Surveyor General of the northern survey, dated August 9th, 1710, granting him the power of a collector in this Colony. . . . It was considered, and resolved, that notwithstanding the commissions so produced, he did not appear qualified with powers for the executing the office of collector in this government, according to the act of Parliament in the seventh and eighth year of King William the Third, intituled An Act for preventing fraud and regulating abuses in the plantation trade, referred to in the Act of the Assembly abovementioned." (*Ibid.*, p. 513.)

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of it, I went hence in y^e^ sloop I had continued in pay since I left Long Island by sea to Rhode Island, but in my way I touched at severall of y^e^ small islands in y^e^ Sound. Rhode Island, it is a distinct goverment, and lyes betwixt y^e^ province of Connecticott and y^t^ of New England. Y^e^ scituation of it is very happy for trade, having a very good harbour, w^th^ a very easie and quick inlett from y^e^ sea. There cheife trade is to y^e^ West Indies, but more especially they have a great trade to Curaco. Y^e^ port of trade is called New Port, w^ch^ is grown in a few years to a great town, mainly by y^e^ Curaco and oth^r^ illegall trade carried on in y^e^ place; they have a great^r^ plenty of European goods here y^n^ in any place on y^e^ Maine, tho' they have not so much as a vessell y^t^ goes from thence for England. I am informed y^t^ there are some p^r^sons concern'd in y^t^ trade who I am sure ought not. Y^e^ evidence given me is not so full as to warrant a charg against y^t^, but perhaps in a little time it may, and then I will speak plaine English. This port is one of those y^t^ hath bin und^r^ M^r^ Brentons directions, where he allways keeps a Deputy Collect^r^, one M^r^ Robert Gardiner, and allowes him sixty pounds a year salery. Not long since this gentleman was forc'd to make a seizure of a great quantity of goods from Curaco were informed against, and shewed to y^e^ Deputy Collect^r^, who was y^n^ inforced to seize y^m^. But when I came to inquire aft^r^ y^e^ Queens share of seizure, all y^e^ account y^t^ I could get from this officer was y^t^ y^e^ goods were all stolen away y^e^ same night y^t^ they were seized; y^e^ goods in y^e^ own^r^s store he nev^r^ remov'd y^m^, but left y^m^ in y^e^ possesion of y^e^ import^r^, who thought fitt to remove y^m^. No further enquiry was made, and so they take it for granted y^t^ all is lost. I told M^r^ Brenton and his deputy y^t^ I thought y^r^ Hono^r^s wou'd scarce allowe of such an acco^t^. I do most humbly beg yo^r^ directions in this affair. If I sue M^r^ Gardin^r^ I have little hopes of recovering ag^t^ him in y^t^ place, but on apeale from England will make his heart ake, and be of great use to her Maj^ty^^e^ intrest on all such occasions in these parts of, and therefore hope to receive yo^r^ Hono^r^s ord^r^s about it. Aft^r^ some stay here I found there was two differing factions about y^e^ Gover^r^, and about ten of y^e^ most eminent march^ts^ where in a strict league. Y^e^ Gov^r^ had two bro^t^, mast^r^s of vessells y^t^ constantly traded to Curaco, besides oth^r^s belonging to y^e^ oth^r^ merch^ts^. Y^e^ contrary faction found y^m^ selfs out done by y^e^ oth^r^, w^ch^ made y^m^ speak bold truths; but tho' I was made senceable of all y^e^ roguery carried on in y^t^ place, yet it was not in my pow^r^ to prevent it. M^r^ Brenton allow'd M^r^ Gardin^r^, his deputy, 60^lb^ ℔ annum. Shou'd I have turn'd him out I cou'd not expect y^t^ any p^r^son fit to serve y^e^ Queen in y^t^ post wou'd do it w^th^out a suitable salery, and I durst not vent^r^ to promiss it w^th^out first acquainting yo^r^ Hono^r^s, and having yo^r^ ord^rs^ for it, so was willing to defer y^e^ settleing y^t^ port till I had made a representation of to yo^r^ Hon^r^s. Aft^r^ I had spent some time here, and informing my

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self as fully as I could, I hired horses, and went by land from hence, and went to Boston. In my way vissited New Bristoll, w^ch^ is in y^e^ governm^t^ of New England, but y^e^ vessells y^t^ trade to that place, there being no officer to ent^r^ and clear at New Port in Rhode Island, w^ch^ gives a great oppertunity for illegall trad. From thence I got to Boston, where one M^r^ W^m^ Payne is allowed 80^lbs^ a year salery. Y^e^ offic^r^ is keept in very good ord^r^. M^r^ Brenton show'd me his patent, w^ch^ he had from King W^m^, and was during pleasure, w^ch^ determined w^th^ y^e^ death of his Maj^ty^, he endeav^r^g to put anoth^r^ construction for his grant, but he found y^t^ it wou'd not pass, so wav'd it. Howev^r^, I told him I was not very forward in making any alterations in y^e^ severall ports w^ch^ had bin so long und^r^ his inspection, till I had made a full representation to yo^r^ Hon^rs^ of all matt^rs^ relating to y^m^. This I found made easie, and he proceeded to make up acct^s^, w^ch^ took a considerable time; but at last we finished. I got him to sign y^m^, and y^n^ he deliv^r^d y^m^ to me, w^ch^ I have examined, and have made my remarks and objections to it, w^th^ my reasons. I thought it not prop^r^ to mix y^e^ concern of y^e^ acc^t^ and what relates to it w^th^ any oth^r^ business, but have fully stated it by it self, and have sent copies of all w^th^ this. I will only observe to yo^r^ Hon^rs^ in y^e^ generall, y^t^ M^r^ Brenton brings himself in y^e^ Queens debt by his acc^t^ but 282^lbs^ 1^s^ 5^d^, and by my stating y^e^ acc^t^ he is no less y^n^ 1,420^lbs^ 5^s^ in her Maj^ty^ debt; so y^t^ there is 1,138^lbs^ 3^s^ 7^d^ difference. All is most humbly submitted to y^r^ Hon^rs^ bett^r^ judgement. M^r^ Brenton tells me y^t^ he resolves to goe for England by y^e^ very first oppertunity. I hope this will come to yo^r^ Hon^rs^ as soon as he can be, & y^n^ it will be a full direction to y^e^ acc^t^ gene^rll^. I am obliged to make a few remarkes to yo^r^ Hon^rs^ on y^e^ trade of this place. Boston hath bin a town of great trade, but y^e^ warr hath extreamly impoverished y^m^, so y^t^ y^e^ trade is not now one third p^t^ of w^t^ it was. Y^e^ main of there trad consists in fishing, lumb^r^, and building of shipping. Y^e^ fish they carried to Lisbon, severall ports of Spain and y^e^ streights, and this gave y^m^ an opp^r^tunity of an illegall trade, bringing in y^e^ produce of those countrys contrary to law. Nor do they want conveniencies enough to run these goods before they came into y^e^ harb^r^, of at Marblehead, Martin's Vineyard, and oth^r^ places, and nothing can prevent it but a small sloop. Y^e^ lumb^r^ they carry in y^e^ shipes they build to Barbadoes and y^e^ oth^r^ islands, from whence they get freight for England. But this part of y^e^ trade is very much lessen'd by y^e^ great numb^r^ of there ships taken by y^e^ enemy; but what is farr worse y^n^ all this, unless her Maj^ty^ be gratiously pleas'd to apply a speedy and affectuall remedy, and y^t^ against there own wills, they and y^t^ country will be utt^r^ly ruined by y^e^ French, who are fixed and settled at Port Royall, just und^r^ there very noses, w^ch^ will quite distroy there fishery, nor will ships be able to goe in or out of y^e^ harb^r^ w^thout^ being taken, unless they are at more charge in

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maintaining ships of warr y^n^ all there trade is worth. All this misery they have brought on them selfs by y^e^ villainy, cowardise, and ill conduct of there late expeditions. Were y^t^ matt^r^ searched to y^e^ bottom, it would discov^r^ a black storry, not fitt for me to mention. I am sure yo^r^ Hono^rs^ will be strangely surprised w^n^ I acquaint you y^t^ notwithstanding all y^e^ mesery hath happened and still threaten New England from y^e^ settlement of Port Royall, yet there hath bin, and still is a trade carried at Port Royall by some of y^e^ topping men of y^e^ governm^t^, und^r^ y^e^ colour of sending and recieving flags of truce. The history of this affair is to long, and p^r^haps not so much my business; but it being of so great a consequence to her Maj^ty^ service, I thought it my duty to give yo^r^ Hon^rs^ this hint. If M^r^ Brenton lives to see yo^r^ Hon^rs^, he is able to set this whole affair in a true light, haveing ample vouch^r^s for every thing, and therefore shall refer yo^r^ Hon^rs^ to him. What I have furth^r^ to observe to yo^r^ Hon^rs^ is, y^t^ M^r^ Brentons salery dureing his patent was but 100^lbs^ ℔ añm, and yet he hath constantly allow'd his deputy of Boston 80^lbs^ ℔ añm, his deputy of Rhode Island 60^lbs^, and his dep^ty^ of Salem, Marblehead, Piscataquable, 100^lbs^ a year more. It is true, they allow'd him y^e^ advantage of y^e^ seizures and profitts of y^e^ office, but I cannot find on y^e^ square how this can answ^r^ so great a charge, there being scarce any seizures in all these out ports, nor hath y^e^ port of Boston bin of much value, considering it is at least seventeen years since M^r^ Brenton hath bin concerned, for he begins his acc^t^ from y^e^ year 1690. W^t^ must be done w^th^ these severall ports when yo^r^ Hon^rs^ shall think fit to appoint anoth^r^ collect^r^ for Boston I cannot imagine. There is an absolute necessity to have offic^rs^ in those places, and w^th^out salerys to support y^m^ it is impossible y^t^ y^e^ Queen shou'd be justly serv'd. This is a matt^r^ worthy yo^r^ Hon^rs^ consideration, and requires a very speedy resolution; for till I rec^ve^ ord^r^ and instructions I know not how I shall settle those ports. I cannot think it fit to continue those men y^t^ are now imploy'd, for more reasons y^n^ I have now time to give. I found it impossible for me to discharge my duty w^th^out maintaining a correspondency w^th^ y^e^ severall places of trade belonging to forreign princes in those p^ts^, and therefore have allready settled a correspondency at Curaco, St. Thomases, and Madera, from whence I have found great benifit, tho' chargable from y^e^ first. I have an acc^t^ of what goods are shipped of to y^e^ severall plantations on y^e^ continent, in w^t^ vessells, w^n^ sayled, and y^e^ mast^rs^ name; by w^ch^ I find y^t^ Rhode Island hath y^e^ greatest quantity from thence. I had a late acc^t^ from y^e^ Maderas y^t^ two sloops from South Carilina had carried and landed there betwixt three and 400 barrells of pitch and tarr, besides 40 or 50 cask of rice. I did imediately send away to Caralina to acquaint y^e^ gov^r^ and offic^rs^ of y^e^ customs; in answ^r^ to w^ch^ they gave me an acc^t^ y^t^ those sloops had entered those enumerated comodities for one of y^e^ Provedence Islands

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called Harb^{r} Island, from whence they recd a certificate y^{t} y^{e} goods were landed there. A copy of y^{e} s^{d} certif they have sent me, and is signed by a great rogue, one Jn^{o} Redwood, an impost^{r}, who pretends to be a deputy to M^{r} Graves; but my acc^{t} of this roguery came time enough to prevent there deliv^{r}y up of y^{e} plantation bond to y^{e} own^{r}s who were pressing to have had it. I have sent ord^{r}s to put y^{e} bond in sute. Nor is there roome to excuse y^{e} offic^{r}s of Carilina for admitting an entry of such a quantity of y^{e} enumerated goods to be shiped to a place where they very well knew there is no governm^{t} or pretence for it, since those islands were cutt off by y^{e} Spaniards; nor is there any offic^{r} of y^{e} customs. There is not above six famillys on this island besides this rogue Redwood, who makes it is bussiness to colour and carry on a roguish false trade. As soon as y^{e} sloop had purchas'd this false certificate they made y^{e} best of there way to Madera, where they landed y^{e} goods, and came to a great markett; and since this I have had complaints from y^{e} collect^{r}s of Bermuda y^{t} this very man Redwood hath given certificates for great quantities of European goods landed in y^{e} Harb^{r} Island, so y^{t} this hole and villian serves for a shelt^{r} to most of y^{e} illegall trade from many of y^{e} governm^{ts} on y^{e} continent. I am also inform'd y^{t} y^{e} march^{ts} of S^{t} Thomass have agreed wth y^{e} inhabitants of these Morooned Islands for all y^{e} Brazelleto wood y^{t} they can send them, and accordingly all hands are at work to cut and prepare for y^{t} trade, if not prevented. I have done all in my pow^{r} by sending to all y^{e} govero^{r}s and offic^{r}s in North America, to give y^{m} notice of this rogue, and to stop all such goods as shall come wth his certificate. And now I have represented these matt^{r}s to yo^{r} Hon^{r}s, I must sum up all by assuring yo^{r} Hon^{r}s y^{t} nothing can secure y^{e} trade of this continent but a small sloop of 35 or 40 tuns, built on purpose for sayling, wth 4 or 5 guns, and ab^{t} 18 or 20 brisk men. Y^{e} commad^{r} must be a man of sence, and a good coast^{r}, and ought to be und^{r} y^{e} surveyo^{r}-generall for y^{e} time being, who ought frequently to coast in her. Such a vessell, well manag'd, wou'd soon defray y^{e} charge, and be of great advantage to y^{e} Queen on many acco^{t}, w^{ch} is all I dare presume to add, especially since I have bin forced to trespass so long already on yo^{r} patience and time, for w^{ch} I do most humbly beg yo^{r} Hon^{r}s pardon, and leave to subscribe my self

Yo^{r} Hon^{r}s most faithfull and obedient serv^{t}, ROBERT QUARY.

PHILADELPHIA, Ap^{ril} y^{e} 6, 708.

The PRESIDENT read an invitation from the New Hampshire Historical Society, requesting this Society to participate in the commemoration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Hampshire, June 21, 1888.

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Dr. GREEN, in presenting an old parchment deed, duly signed and sealed, said: —

This was given by Abigail Flint, John Flint, and Mary, his wife, to Thomas Wheeler, all of Concord, and dated June 19, 1674. It conveyed 800 acres of land, which is described as

lying and being in two parcells in the Wilderness Northerly from the towneship of Grawton at or neare unto a place commonly called by the Indians Aukecunsick: the one parcell being bounded on the South Easterly Side by a River that rufis from the Towne of Grawton: and the other parcell lyeing about one hundred Rods distant from the affore mentioned parcell of land on the North Westerly Side thereof: both which said parcells of Land being bounded out by marked trees.

It is evident, from the description, that both these tracts of land lay on the northwesterly side of the Nashua River, and that one of them was bounded by that stream. The two parcels come now within the limits of Hollis, New Hampshire, where the name of the original owners is still perpetuated by a Flint's Pond and a Flint's Brook. The Indian word "Aukecunsick" seems now to have died out entirely, and I cannot find that it exists in the neighborhood, even in any modified form.

These two tracts of land had been granted, at the session of the General Court beginning May 22, 1661, to the widow of Thomas Flint, and her second son John, in consideration of the public services of her husband and his father, who had been during eleven years a Magistrate of the Colony. Mrs. Flint had been left with a numerous family, "many whereof were in minority;" and the burden of their support had fallen on John, for which reason he was to have an equal interest in the grant with his mother. The return of the survey was made at the session of the General Court beginning May 27, 1663, and duly approved by that body.

Through the signature of Abigail Flint, the deed furnishes the given name of Thomas's widow. John, the son, married Mary, the daughter of Urian Oakes, President of Harvard College; and their signatures also are attached to the document. The grantee was afterward known as Capt. Thomas Wheeler, the famous Indian fighter, who wrote a "Narrative" of his campaign against the savages.

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Dr. DEANE said that he would like to add to the Librarian's list of donations, if he has a place for any more books, by presenting to the Library a copy of John Nalson's folio edition, 1684, of the trial of King Charles I., printed from the journal of Phelps, the clerk of the High Court of Justice. The volume contains a finely executed engraving of the Court in full session in Westminster Hall. The Introduction and Notes are by Nalson, who was as pronounced a royalist as Rushworth was a Parliament man. Nalson had already published two volumes of "Affairs of State." Dr. Deane said that the well-known antiquary, W. J. Thoms, F.S.A., Deputy Librarian of the House of Lords, had, several years ago, issued a small volume entitled "The Death-Warrant of Charles the First, another Historic Doubt," in which he attempted to show that the warrant for the execution of the king was tampered with after it had been signed; that some names were erased and others filled in, and that the execution did not take place on the day intended when the warrant was originally drawn. Cromwell and the leaders had great difficulty in screwing the courage of the signers of the death-warrant (some of them) "to the sticking place." The warrant recites that the execution shall take place in the open street before Whitehall, on the 30th of January; but the very spot where the execution took place is yet a matter of controversy. The warrant, of which fac-similes are common, was found in the possession of Colonel Hacker, one of those to whom it was addressed, and is now among the archives of the House of Lords.

A new serial, containing the Proceedings for March, April, and May, was laid on the table by the Recording Secretary.

It was announced that there would be no meeting of the Society until October, unless a special meeting should be called by the President and Secretary.

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OCTOBER MEETING, 1888.

The meetings of the Society were resumed on the 11th instant, the President, Dr. Ellis, occupying the chair.

The report of the last meeting having been read, and the gifts to the Library having been mentioned, the Librarian called attention to a set of Year Books of the city of Charleston, South Carolina, given by our Corresponding Member, the Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay. They were prepared by Mr. Courtenay, and cover the period of his mayoralty from the year 1880 to 1887 inclusive. Apart from the usual statistics of such municipal volumes, they contain a great deal of original material relating both to the city of Charleston and the State of South Carolina, from the earliest times to the present day. Few cities in the Union can show a series of public documents so valuable to the historical scholar, and so handsomely printed.

The Recording Secretary read a letter from Mr. Courtenay, which he had written to accompany the gift, and which expressed his warm interest in the Society.

The President laid before the meeting circulars referring to the Centennial Anniversary of Washington's Inauguration, and suggesting that the Governor be requested to appoint a commission to represent the State at the celebration in New York on April 30, 1889. The matter was referred to Messrs. Winsor, Green, and Washburn.

Dr. Green presented the following letter relating to Shays's Rebellion, saying that the writer was a brother of Col. William Prescott, who commanded the American forces at the battle of Bunker Hill.

Groton Jan^{y} 22^{d} 1787 6^{o} P. M.

Sir I have been attending to the motions of the insurgents, & thought it was my duty to inform you that Cap^{t} John Nutting of Pepperell marched from John Conants in Townshend at one o'clock this afternoon with about Seventy men collected from Groton, Pepperell & Townshend & Seven sleighs with provisions & baggage; expected to be joined by a party from Lunenburg & Shirley, & I have no doubt

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will make up as many more, they have rec^{d} Expresses from the Worcester Leaders to raise as many men as possible, they are exerting themselves to the utmost — they propose to march all night & are at present rapid in their movements.

The Bearer Capt John Williams is able to acquaint you with the particulars & will inform you of the disposition of the people in this part of the County & their readiness to turn out for the defence of Goverment if needed.

I have directed the Express to return as soon as possible & if anything of importance should be discovered I shall give you intelligence without loss of time.

I have the honor to be with the
greatest esteem Sir your
very humble Serv^{t}

GEN^{L} LINCOLN — OLIVER PRESCOTT.

[Addressed] On public Service The Hon^{ble} Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Lincoln Worcester by Express

[Indorsed] D^{r} Prescott's letter Janr 22^{d} 1787 N^{o} 19

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of Yale University, communicated the following paper, which was referred to the Committee on the Proceedings: —

A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston, March, 1638.

Among the papers of President Ezra Stiles, preserved in the Library of Yale College, is the following account of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial (occupying fifty-six quarto pages of manuscript), which was copied by him while a pastor in Newport in 1771 from an original manuscript not now traceable. Dr. Stiles's prefatory remarks are also given.

This report seems to be nowhere else preserved, nor is any other full report of this trial known. Brief contemporary accounts of the affair are given in Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. pp. 254–258, and in Welde's Short Story, pp. 59–64. See also the summaries in Ellis's Life of Anne Hutchinson, pp. 305–311; in Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England, vol. i. pp. 335–338; and in Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. pp. 487, 488.

Appended to this copy among Dr. Stiles's papers is a copy of the Conference of the Elders of Massachusetts with Mr. Robert Lenthal, of Weymouth, held at Dorchester, Feb. 10, 1639; this has been printed, with notes by the Hon. J. Ham-

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mond Trumbull, in the Congregational Quarterly for April, 1877 (vol. xix. pp. 232–248).

Account of the MS. from which I transcribed the following Accounts of Mrs Hutchinson & Mr Lenthall.

By Ezra Stiles.

The MS. was in a blank Book bound in Leather, being a thick Duodecimo or half as big as a common Bible. It seems to have been designed for writing down Sermons from the Mouth of the Preacher. Accordingly Two Thirds of it is taken up in Sermons in 1638 & 1639 by Mr Wilson, Mr Cotton, Mr Shephard, Mr Phillips of Renton in Engld:[1] and among the rest one by Mr Damphord at Boston in N. E. Febr. 25. 1638 (or $163^{7}/_{8}$) upon Philip. II. 12. 13. This Damphord was Rev. John Davenport who came over & arrived at Boston June 26. 1637. and tarried at Boston [until] March 30. 1638 when he removed to New Haven. While at Boston he frequently preached there & in the neighboring Chhs. He was present at the Synod 1637. & at their Request preached on Philip. III. 16. Govr Winthrop says that Mr Davenport was there at this Time. Mrs Hutchinsons first Trial before the Chh was at the Lecture March 15. $163^{7}/_{8}$ and the second was 22d of same March. Govr Winthrops Entries at this place express "she had been licensed by the Court, in Regard she had given hopes of Repentance, to be at Mr Cottons House, that both he & Mr *Davenport* might have more opportunity with her." MS.[2] I produce this to shew that Mr Davenport had a hand in laboring her Conviction; & was undoubtedly the person this MS. calls *Damphord*. For the Davenports are frequently called Danforths to this day particularly at Little Compton. There was a *Danforth* minister at Roxbury, but he was not ordained till 1650 & was not a dozen years old at the Time of this Trial. Again, this accounts for Mrs Hutchinsons Reverence for Mr Davenport who was the most learned Divine & every way the greatest Man then in Boston: His Arguments, *only*, weighed with her.

This MS. in 12mo is inscribed in the Beginning "Robert Keayne of Boston in New England his Booke. Anno. 1638. Price 4d." I take him to have been a Brother in Law to Rev. Mr Wilson,[3] & to have written

[1] John Wilson and John Cotton, of Boston; Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; John Phillips, of Wrentham, England, who came over in 1638, and returned in 1641.

[2] Dr. Stiles had perused Governor Winthrop's Journal in manuscript, and made a copy of a considerable portion; for this passage in Savage's edition see vol. i. p. 257.

[3] Robert Keayne's wife, Ann Mansfield, was sister of the Rev. John Wilson's wife.

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this at the Time of the Chh meeting, & from the Mouths of the Speakers; & when entering Mr Wilsons Discourse, calls him *Brother Willson.*

This MS. was found, among a Family Collection of Books & Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr Wilson, first Pastor of Boston; which were lodged at length in the Family of Low at Warren or Barrington in Rhode Island. These MSS. began to be dispersed about 1750 or 1760, when the Rev. Solomon Townsend of Barrington[1] rescued this & sundry MSS in Mr Wilson's own handwriting. And he lent this to me. The Succession, &c: —

Rev. Jn° Wilson of Boston . . Library & MSS. descended to
Rev Jn° Wilson junr of Medfield . . . died 1691.
Dr Jn° Wilson of Brantree
Mr Jn° Wilson Elect Pastor of Swanzy or Barrington; where he died[2] before Ordination. This bro't the Library thither. His Widow married Rev Mr Terry[3] about 1720: & his Sister Elizabeth m. Sam. Low of Barrington.[4] The Liby came into Mrs Low's Hands. After her Death the MSS. were dispersed.

Dr Jn° Wilson. Vth, educated at Harv. Coll., settled a physician at Sherburn.

Aug. 12, 1771

"By My Brother Willson. (Before Mrs Hutchinsons Examination and her Answer in the Meetinghowse at Boston in New England one the Lecture Day March 15. 1638, when she was accused of divers Errors. & unsound Opinions wch she held, as was taken from her

[1] A native of Boston; graduated at Harvard College in 1735; ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Barrington, Sept. 22, 1742; died in office, Dec. 25, 1796, aged eighty years.

[2] In 1713.

[3] Samuel Terry (Harv. Coll. 1710).

[4] "Mrs. Elizt Low was the D[aughter] of Dr John Wilson, Esq., of Brantree, who was son of Revd Jn° Wilson, of Medfield, the son of Rev. Jn° Wilson, first Minister of Boston. She had a Brother, Mr Jn° Wilson, of Presidt Holyoke's Class 1705, Preacher at Barrington & Pastor Elect there, who died before Ordint at Barrington, then Swanzy, & was buried at Rehoboth about 1720, or before.

"Mrs Elizt Wilson married Mr Samll Low, of Barrington, a wealthy young Farmer, before 1720, & had Children from 1720 to 1730, and died perhaps about 1735 æt. —.

"She was a Woman of great Beauty, a fine Genius, elegant & animate composition, Purity of Language, eminent Piety, & of every Excellency. She corresponded with all the Ministers. Would have made a Bishop a better Wife

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owne Mouth by Mr Shephard & Mr Wells[1] Ministers & proved by suer Witnesses.")

"We have herd this day very sweetly that we are to cast downe all our Crownes at the feete of Ch: Je: Soe let every one be content to deny all Relations of Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Friend, Enemy. & to cast downe all our Crownes & whatsoever Judgment or Opinion that is taken up may be cast downe at the Feete of Christ, & let all be carried by the Rules of Gods Word & tried by that Rule, and if thear be any Error let no one Rejoyce. None but the Divells in Hell will rejoyce, but in all owr proceedings this day, let us lift up the name of Ch: Jes: & so proceed in Love in this day's proceedinge.

Mr Oliver.[2] I am to acquaynt all this Congregation, that whereas our Sister Hutchinson was not hear at the Beginninge of this Exercise, it was not out of any Contempt or Neglect to the Ordinance, but because she hath bine longe [under] Durance, she is so weake that she conceaves herselfe not fitt nor able to have bine hear soe longe togeather; this she sent to our Elders.

Mr Leverit, owr other Elder. I am to request those that are Members of the Congregation, that they would draw as neare togeather as they can, & into such places as thay may be distinguished from the rest of the Congregation, that whan thear Consent or Dissent is required to the Things wch shall be read: we may know how thay doe express themselves ayther in the allowinge or condemninge of them.

Mr Leverit. Sister Hutchinson: hear is divers opinions layd to your charge by Mr Shephard & Mr Frost, & I must request you in the name of the Church to declare whether you hould them or renownce them as thay be read to you:

1. That the Soules (Ecl. 3. 18–21) of all men by Nature are mortal.
2. That those that (1 Cor. 6. 19) y^{t} are united to Ch: have 2 Bodies, xts & a new Body, & you knew not how Ch: should be united to our fleshly Bodys.
3. That our Bodies shall not rise (1 Cor. 15. 44) wth Ch: Je: not the same Bodies at the last day.
4. That the Resurrection mentioned 1 Cor. 15. is not of our Resurrection at the last day, but of our Union to Ch: Je:

than a farmer. Of good Judg^{t} in every Thing, only chusing a Husband. A delicate Poet.

"Mr Wilson, Pastor Elect, &c., builded the elegant Seat where the fam^{y} of Low & Judge Mumf'd. afterw'd. lived. Mr Low bo't. this Seat of Mr Wilson's Heirs, as it had formerly been his father Low's." — *From Dr. Stiles's MS. Itinerary, Oct.*, 1782.

[1] Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury; the principal author of "A Short Story, etc.," already referred to as one of the authorities for our knowledge of this trial.

[2] Thomas Oliver, one of the Ruling Elders of the Boston Church.

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5. That thear be no created graces in the humane Nature of Ch: nor in Beleevers after Union.
6. That you had no scripture to Warrant ch: beinge now in Heaven in his humane Nature.
7. That the Disciples wear not converted at Ch: Death.
8. That thear is no Kingdom of Heaven, but Christ Jesus.
9. That the first Thinge we receave for our Assurance is our Election.

These are alledged by M^r^ Shephard.[1] Next from Roxberie:

1. That Sanctification can be no Evidence of a good Estate in no wise.
2. That her Revelations about future Events are to be beleeved as well as Scripture because the same holy Ghost did indite both.
3. That Abraham was not in savinge Estate till he offered Isack, & so savinge the firmnes' of Gods Election he might have perished eternally for any Worke of Grace y^t^ was in him.
4. That an Hipocrite may have the Righteousness of Adam & perish.
5. That we are not bound to the Law, not as a Rule of Life.
6. That not beinge bound to the Law, no Transgression of the Law is sinfull.
7. That you see no Warrant in Scripture to prove that the Image of God in Adam was Righteousness & trew Holiness.

These are aledged agaynst you by M^r^ Wells & M^r^ Eliott.

M^r^ Leverit. It is desired by the Church, Sister Hutchinson, that you expresse whether this be your opinion or not.

M^rs^ Hutchinson. If this be Error than it is myne & I ought to lay it downe: if it be truth it is not myne but Ch: Je: & than I am not to lay it downe. But I desire of the Church to demand one Question. By what Rule of the Word, whan these Elders shall come to me in private to desire Satisfaction in some poynts, & doe professe in the sight of God that thay did not come to Intrap nor insnare me, & now without speakinge to me & expressinge any Unsatisfaction would come to bringe it publickly into the Church before thay had privately delt with me, for them to come & inquire for Light, & afterwards to bare Witness agaynst it, I thinke it is a Breach of Church Rule, to bringe a Thinge in publike before they have delt with me in private.

M^r^ Cotten. To answ^r^ this, indeed, if thear be any playne Breach of Rule, then yow may: but if thear be not a manifest Breach, than the church hath not power to make Inquisition in a doubtful Case.

M^r^ Shephard. I desire to aske this Question of M^rs^. Hutchinson: Whether she accuse any of us, or no, of such a Breach of Rule.

[1] These nine points, alleged by Mr. Shepard, correspond to Nos. 1, 3–7, 9, 11, 14, and 16, in the list on pp. 61–63 of Welde's "Short Story." The next seven points are Welde's Nos. 8, 17, 21, 23, 25–27.

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Mrs Hutchinson. I aske a Quest.: thear was none wth me but myselfe, & I may not accuse an Elder under 2 or 3 Witnesses.

Mr Cotten. Brother Shephard, if you cane expres any thinge that concerns this Matter, yow shall doe well to give God Glory, & speake.

Mr Shephard. For my first cominge to Mrs Hutchinson, I lyinge in the Towne all night was . . . importuned by some theare to goe & see Mrs Hutchinson, & soe I did goe to desire further Satisfaction from her, for some speeches that she had used in the Court, wch I did not well understand At my second cominge to her, be[ing] sent by special providences of God, I did tell her, that I came not to Intrap her, nor had not than any Thought nayther doe I know wherein I could deale more lovingly wth this yor Sister than to bringe her thus before yow. And whearas she sayeth that we delt not with her, I must needs say that I never came to her but I bare Witness & left some Testimony behind me agaynst her Opinions, yet I did not publish any Thinge of the Conference, but kept it in my own Brest. But seeinge the Flewentness of her Tongue & her Willingness to open herselfe & to divulge her Opinions & to sowe her seed in us that are but highway side and Strayngers to her, & therefore would doe much more to her own Jeolosie & to them that are mor nearly like to her, for I account her a verye dayngerous Woman to sowe her corrupt opinions to the infection of many, & therefore the more need yow have to looke to her, & therefore at my third Cominge to her I tould her that I came to deale with her & labour to reduce her from her Errors & to bare witness agayst them, therefor I do marvell yt she will say that we bringe it into publicke before I delt with her in private. H[ebrews] 4, 12

Mrs Hutchinson. I did not howld divers of these Thinges I am accused of, but did only ask a Question. Eccl. 3. 18–21

Mr Shephard. I would have this Congregation know, that the vilest Errors that ever was brought into the Church was brought in by way of Questions 42. 7.

Mr Cotton. Brother we consent with you; therefor Sister Hutchinson it will be most satisfactorie to the Congregation for you to answer to the Things as thay are objected agaynst yow in order.

Mrs Hutchinson. I desire they may be read

Mr Cotten. Yor first opinion layd to yor Charge is *That the Soules of all Men by nature are mortall & die* like Beastes. and for that you alledge Eccl. 3. 18–21

Mrs Hutchinson. I desire that place might be answered; the spirit that God gives returns

Mr Cotton. That place speaketh that the spirit ascends upwards, soe Eccles. 12. 7. Mans spirit doth not returne to Dust as mans body doth but to God. The soul of man is immortall

Mrs Hutchinson. Every Man consists of Soul & Body. now *Adam*

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dies not except his soule & Body dye. & in Heb: 4. the word is lively in Operation, & devides between *soule* & Spirit: Soe than *the Spirit that God gives man, returnes to God indeed, but the Soule dyes.* & That is the spirit Eccles. speakes of, & not of the Soule. Luk. 19. 10

M^r^ Cotton. If you howld that Adams Soule & body dyes & was not redeemed or restored by Ch. Je. it will overthrough our Redemption. both Soule & Body is bought with a price Luk 19. 10 I come to seek & save what was lost. 1. C. 6. E. [= 1 Cor. 6th ch., end.]

M^rs^ Hutchinson. I acknowledged I am redeemed from my vayne conversation & other Redemptions, but it is no whare sayd that he came to redeem the seed of Adam but the seed of Abraham

Brother Willson I desire befor yow lay downe your Scruples that you would seriously consider of the places alledged & of that in 1 Cor 6. end: the spirit of God needs no Redemption, but he speaks thear neyther of Gods Spirit but of our Spirits.

M^rs^ Hutchinson. I speake not of Gods Spirit now: but I will propound my mayne scruple and that is *how a Thinge that is Immortally miserable can be immortally happie.*

M^r^ Cotten. He that makes miserable can make us happy

M^rs^ Hutchinson. I desire to hear God speak this & not man. Shew me whear thear is any Scripture to prove it that speakes soe.

M^r^ Cotten. Yow *doe not say that the soule is not immortal but that this Imortalety is purchased from Christ*

M^rs^ Hutchinson. Yes Sir

M^r^ Cotten. Y^t^ in Eccles. proveth that the soule is the Gift of God & that it hath no Relation to such fadinge & destroyinge matter as his Body was made of. Mat 10. 28. 1 Thes. 5. 23.

M^rs^ Hutchinson. Doe yow thinke his naturall Life is gone into Heaven, & that we shall goe into Heaven with our naturall Life

M^r^ Cotten. Thear is a soule that is immortal Mat. 10. 28. & our nature shall goe into heaven but not our corrupt Nature.

M^rs^ Hutchinson. Than yow have both a Soule & Spirit that shall be saved. I desire you to answer that in 1 Thess. 5. 23. Yo^r^ hole *Spirit Soule & body,* & that in Psalms he hath redeemed his soule from hell.

M^r^ Cotten. Sister, doe not shut your Eyes agaynst the Truth. all thease places prove that the soule is Immortall

M^rs^ Hutchison. *The Spirit is immortall indeed. but prove that the Soule is:* for that place in Mathew wch yow bringe of Castinge the soul into hell. is ment of the Spirit.

M^r^ Cotten. Thease are principles of o^r^ christian Fayth, & not denyed. the Spirit is sometimes put for the Contience, & for the Giftes of the Spirit y^t^ fitts the soule for Gods Service.

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Mrs Hutchison. The ho. Ghost makes this Distinction between the soule & Body & not I.

Mr Cotten. *If wicked men have the Immortalitie of thear Soules purchased to them by Ch. Je.* than the Divells have Immortalitie purchased to them by Ch.

Governour: She thinkes that the Soule is annihilated by the Judgment that was sentenced upon Adam. her Error springs from her Mistaking of the Curse of God upon Adam, for that Curse doth not implye Annihilation of the soule & body, but only a dissolution of the Soule & Body.

Mrs Hutchison. I will take that into Consideration, for it is of more wayte to me than any thinge wch yet hath bine spoken.

Governr As the Body remaynes an Earthly substance after Dissolution, soe the Soule remaynes a spirituall Substauce after the Curse, though we see not what substance it is turned into after Dissolution.

Mr Eliot. She thinkes the Soule to be Nothinge but a Breath, & so vanisheth. I pray put that to her.

Mrs Hutchison. *I thinke the soule to be nothing but Light.*

Brother Willson. If the Soule be but a Breath, than how doth Ch: say that a mans Soule is better than the whole World.

Mr Cotten. The Sume of her Opinion is that the soules of men by Creation is no other or better than the soules of beastes. wch. dye. & *are mortall, but are made immortall* by the Redemption of Ch. Je. to wch. hath bine Answr that Soule is Imortall. by Creation. & some places brought to prove that thay are, namely the soules of the wicked [are] cast into Hell forever, & the soules of the godly are kept in a blameless frame unto Immortall Glory

Mr Leverit. The Church is desired to express, whither what yow have now heard give yow Satisfaction & sufficient Light in the poynt in Question

Sargeon Savidge. My Scruple is seeing the Church is not accused of this Opinion, but one partie, whether we should presently express owr Consent or Dissent whan the partie that houlds it is not satisfied nor convinced, but rather that the church may have Time first to consider of it.

Brother Willson. It was usiall in the former Times when any Blasphemie or Idolatrie was held forth they did use to rent thear Garments & tare thear hare of thear heads. in signe of Lothinge, & if we deny the Resurrection of the Body, than let us turne Epicures, Let us eate & drinke & doe any Thinge, to morrow we shall dye: & whan all the Priests of Baall pleaded for Baall & Eliah proved the Lord to be God, if any one had a scruple . . . & was not satisfied but Baall was still God, should one mans scruple or doubt hinder all the rest of the Con-

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gregation, wch are satisfied, to crye out, that the Lord is God, the Lord is God, & the Lord only is the Lord.

Govern^r. The whole Congregation but one Brother is sufficiently satisfied wth what hath bine allready spoken to this poynt to be sufficient: therefor let us proceed to the next.

Brother Willson. I desire to hear our Sister speake, what becomes of that Spirit when the body dyes, for I thinke she contradicts herselfe.

M^rs Hutchison. *I spake of the Spirit that God gave:* that returns to God that gave it.

M^r Cotten. We are not to hear what naturall affection[1] will say, for we are to forsake Father & Mother. Wife. & children for Christ Je. 1 C[orinthians] 5. 12.

Brother Willson. This that will not confesse me before men: him will not I confesse befor my father wch is in Heaven: this is the Rule of God, by wch the church should proceed.

M^r Cotten. Yow see how far naturall affection doth prevayle wth Children to speake for thear Mother, & thearfor it concerns others of the Congregation to take heed how they linke themselves with any that hould . . . damnable Errors, & I am sorry to hear any of our Brethren to be soe brought up that thay should not hear of the Immortallitie of the soule.

Govern^r. I wonder thear should be any scruple in this Thinge wch is practised in all the Churches, to give some signe whether what hath bine spoken doe give satisfaction to the Church or no; that soe we may proceed

M^r Cotten. I would aske our sister this Question, *whether the Soule, body & spirit be not Immortal* 1 P[eter] 3. 19

M^rs Hutchison. it is more than I know: how doe we *prove that both soule & body are saved.*

Brother Willson. *I pray God kepe yo^r hole body* soule & body may be kept blamless to Salvation

M^rs Hutchison. It is say^d thay are kept blameles to *the coming of Ch.* Je. *not to Salvation*

Brother Willson. what doe we mene by the Cominge of Ch. Je.

M^rs. Hutchison. By Cominge of Ch: thear he meanes, his *cominge to us in Union.* 1 46 4 [= Romans 6. 4?]

Brother Willson. *I looke at this Opinion to be dayngerous & damnable. & to be no lesse than Sadducisme. & Athiisme* & therefore to be detested.

[1] Sergeant Savage, whose inquiry occasioned this argument, was a son-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson; later, her son takes part in the discussion; and these two dissentients are described in the "Short Story" as two "sons" of the accused, — to the confusion of some commentators.

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M^rs Hutchison. If Error be the Thinge yow intend, than I desire to know what is the Error for wch. I was banished for I am suer this is not. for then thear was no such Expression from me on this. The most part of the Church did express themselves satisfied wth what hath bine spoken & *by Lifting up of thear hands. did show thear Dislike of it & did condemn it as an Error.*

M^r Dampford. Whan it comes to a case of Testimony & a baringe Witness to a Truth of God. & than whan the Truth is like to [be] cried downe, than it is time to speake; this Question of the Immortalitie of the soule is *not new.* but an Ayntient Heresie. & a most censurable & gives way to Libertanisme. And *this poynt was disputed a whole day togeather before Adrian the Pope:* who like a Beast concluded this, that *he that speakes for the Immortallitie of the soul speakes most like to the Scriptures, but he that speakes of the Mortalletie of the soul speakes most to my minde & desire,* & soe it is in this very Thinge: thay that speake for the Mortaletie of the soule speake most for Licentiousness & sinfull Liberty. Therefore . . . Questions that have bine started about this hath bine, as hath bine sayd, from naturall Affection, and soe any scruple of Contience that some made whether thay may expres thear Judgments by Vote or no: I thinke it is according to the Rule. & doe not see how we can bare Witness to the Truth or agaynst any Error but by expressinge the^r Assents or Dissents, ayther by silence or Liftinge up thear Hands. that in Math 18 in case of offenders brought to the Church the Rule is. if they will not hear the Church let him be as an Heathen or Publican. Now what is ment by Church: only the Officers, or the whole Church? Now it is playne it is the whole Church. Now how can the Church expresse themselves, but ayther by thear *Votes* or *Silence:* & soe in castinge out the Incestious person in 1 Cor. V. how shall the Churches consent be knowen. except thay expresse it. one way or other: therefor I thinke that should be no Scruple

M^r Cotten. We come to the second poynt. By the purchase & Redemption of Ch: the Soules are made immortall tho by Creation they are mortall

M^rs Hutchison *The Soule is immortall by Redemption.*

M^r Cotten Yow have no scripture to prove this. Therefor yow ought not to prostitute your Fayth to any one no not to your owne Inventions. and yow have herd playne places agaynst it. as that the *Spirits of wicked men are in Hell:* & yow have herd that the soules of the faythfull are in Heaven.

M^r Damphord. *A soule may be Immortall & not miserable.* Now the Curse is this, that Misery is annexed to Imortalitie. Immortalitie was a Gift to the Spirit in thear very Beinge: the *soule cannot have Imortaletie in itself but from God from whom it hath its beinge.*

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M^rs Hutchison. *I thanke the Lord I have Light.* & I see more Light a greate deale by M^r Damphords opening of it.

M^r Cotten Than yow revoke what yow have delivered or held in this Poynt.

M^rs Hutchison. *Soe far as I understand M^r Damphord. I pray let some body* open this: *How the soul is Imortall by Creation*

M^r Damphord. It is immortall as the Ayngells are by Creation.

M^rs Hutchison If the soule be Immortall by Ch: how can the Soule dye: but the Curse sayeth that in the day thow eateth thereof thow shalt dye

M^r Damphord. *The soule doth not dye, but the Person of Adam,* & not the soule. *But the person of Adam is redeemed* by Ch. Je.; *now the Ayngells & Divells are Imortall not by the Redemption of Christ, but by Nature & Creation*

M^r Cotten. Sister, the Comparison is familliar & usiall

M^r Damphord. Yow must distinguish betwene the *life of the Soule & the Life of the Body.* the Life of the Body is mortall but the Life of the Soule is immortall. Ecle. 12. thear the Spirit signifies the soule, in Esai 53. 10. 11. he shall make his soule an offering for sine.

M^rs Hutchison. *I am clear in this now.*

M^r Damphord Than yow renownce what yow held in both those poynts

M^rs Hutchison. *Yes. I doe, takinge Soule as M^r Damphord* doth. Soe thear was *my Mistake. I tooke Soule for Life.*

M^r Damphord. The Spirit is not a Third Substance, but the Bent & Inclination of the soule & all the faculties thearof. now this is not a substance differinge from the soule, & *that Spirit in Ecclesiastes is ment of the Soule,* the Spirit returns to God that gave it, that is, the Soule or substance thereof

M^rs Hutchison. I doe not differ from M^r Damphord, as he expresseth himselfe

M^r Damphord. The *Spirit* thear in Thess. is as the Bias to the Soule

Brother Willson But the Quest. is *whether that Spirit in Thessa: be Imortall or* not.

M^r Damphord. *That Word Spirit* in Ecclesiastes *is ment the Soule,* & *that* Spirit *in Thessa.* is *not the substance of the soule but a Qualitie* of it. That soule wch: Ch: speakes of in Mathew, He casts both soule & Body into Hell, *thear soule is not ment spirit but soule*

M^rs Hutchison, I may speake playnelye whether yow thinke that the *soules of men are Imortall by Generation or . . . . mortall.* & soe fadeth away like the soule of a Beast

M^rs Hutchison. Now M^r Damphord hath opened it. it is cleare to me. or God by him hath given me Light

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M^r Cotten. Sister, speake to this, Whether yow conceave that the divine & gracious Qualeties of the soules of Beleevers be Immortall or no & shall goe wth the soule into Heaven, & whether yow think the Evell Qualleties of the soules of wicked men & thear Evell Dispositions shall goe wth thear Soules to Hell or no.

M^rs Hutchison. I know not presantly what to say to this.

M^r Damphord. Yow doe than consent to the two first Questions that *the Coming of Ch: in Thessa. to the soule* is *not* ment of Ch: Cominge *in Union but* of his Cominge at the day *of Judgment.*

M^rs. Hutchison. I doe not acknowledge it to be an Error but a Mistake. I *doe acknowledge my Expression to be Ironious. but my Judgment was not Ironious*, for I held befor as yow did but could not express it soe. John 12 Cor. 4. 16. 3 Things. That men whan thay beleeve have. a New Body. & thay have 2 bodies. 1 C[or]. 15. 44. 37

M^r Cotten. If yow meane thay have 2 bodies, one of sin & another of death, & one outward body. & an Inward Body of Graces.

M^rs Hutchison. I meane as that Scripture meanes, 1 Cor. 4. 16.

M^r Cotten. Yow say yow doe not know whether Je: Ch: be united to this body of ours or . . . . ou^r fleshly bodies. thear lies the scruple & the absurdetie of it: therefor, remember, both soule & body are united to Ch. in our spirituall Estate the Body is a sanctified Instrument to hear & to be holy. & Ch: is united to that body wch we made the body of an Harlot. *Your bodies are the Temples of the* Ho. Gho: that very body, that befor we had taken & made the Members of Harlots.

M^rs Hutchison. I desire yow to speake to that place in 1 Cor. 15. 37. 44 for I doe quest. whether the same Body that dies, shall rise agayne.

M^r Damphord. The same Body that is sowen, the same Body shall rise agayne. it is sowen a naturall Body but it shall rise a spirituall Body

M^rs Hutchison. We all rise in Ch: Je: in Rom. 6 he showes that he dyes

M^r Damphord. that is another kind of Death. but speak first of the other Death. & clear that he rayseth us the same Body. & not another Body for Substance.

M^rs Hutchison. I quest. whether yowr body be sowen or no

M^r Damphord. Whan I dye than my body is sowen: & turned into Corruption & dust. & that dust wch is sowen shall rise agayne in a body

M^rs Hutchison. Than come to Rom. 6. 2–7: thear is no Death of a Child of God: but a puttinge of ow^r Tabernacle. Revel. 20.

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Mr Damphord. This Death & Resurrection hear spoken of is not a naturall Death nor a naturall Resurrection but a spirituall one. but that Death in 1 Cor. 15 is spoken of a naturall & bodely Death & Resurrection. Mat. 22.

Mrs Hutchison. There is another place in Rev. 20 whear he speakes of the first Resurrection

Mr Damphord. Thear is no first & second Resurrection of one & the same Body, for that implyes a second Resurrection. Now some understand that of the Resurrection of the Martirs. others of a spiritual Resurrection, as is ment in Rom. 6 a spiritual Resurrection both wch we enjoy in this Life, but that in 1 Cor 15. is ment of a Bodely Resurrection after this Life. therfor. are yow clear in that place

Mrs Hutchison. No, not yet.

Mr Buckle. I desire to know of Mrs Hutchison. whether yow hould any other Resurection than that of . . . Union to Ch: Je: And whether yow hold yt foule, groce, filthye & abbominable Opinion held by Familists, *of the Communitie of Weomen.* Job 19. 25 Phil. 3 . . —

Mrs Hutchison. *I hould it not.* But Ch: Answ: now. I know thou hast a Divell. that was the Conclusion thay made agynst Ch: *when he sayd thay that beleeve in me shall not dye:* I doe not beleeve that Ch. Je: is united to our Bodies.

Brother Willson. God forbid.

Mr Damphord. Avoyd . . Mr Buckles quest. for it is a right principle, for if the Resurrection be past than Marriage is past: for it is a waytie Reason; *after the Resurrection is past, marriage is past. than if thear be any Union betwene man & woman, it is not by Marriage but in a Way of Communitie.*

Mrs Hutchison. if any such practice or Conclusion be drawn from it. than I must leave it, *for I abhor that Practise.*

Governor. The Familists doe not desire to evade that quest. for thay practise the Thinge. & thay bringe this very place to prove thear Communitie of Weomen. & to justify thear abhominable Wickedness. it is a dayngerous Error.

Mr Leverit. But our sister doth not deny the Resurrection of the Body.

Mrs Hutchison. No.

Mr Simes. She denies the Resurrection of the same Body that dyes. therefore to prove that the same body that dyes shall rise agayne, I prove it Job. 19. 35. & . . . .

Mrs Hutchison. that it is all the quest. for *I doe not thinke the Body that dyes shall rise agayne*

Mr Damphord *Yow tell us of a new Body,* & of 2 bodies, that *is three: now wch of these Bodies do yow hould shall rise agayne.*

Mr Eliot. We are altogether unsatisfied wth her answer, & we

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thinke it is very dangerous to dispute this Question soe longe in this Congregation. She that hath come of in her other Answer, to say it was not an Error, but a mistake of so groce & so dangerous an opinion as this is, we much fear her spirit

Mr Buckle. in Hebr. 6. 1. the holy Ghost thear makes the denyinge of the Resurrection to be the denyinge of a fundamentall Truth of Religion. Thearfor for any to hould thear is no Resurrection, I thinke it is as dayngerous an Heresie, & we are to hould them as dayngerous Heriticks as any are.

Mr Simes. I desire to propound one place more, 1 Cor. 15. 13. *if thear be no Resurrection, then our fayth is in vayne* & preachinge is in vayne: & all is in vayne

Mrs Hutchison. I confess if thear be no Resurection, than all is in vayne, both preaching & all. *I scruple not the Resurrection, but what Body shall rise*, it shall rise, that is, in Ch: we shall rise.

Governor. I desire to propound this to Mrs Hutchison: it is sayd whan Christ arose, many of those dead bodies of the Sts did arise out of thear Graves, & did accompany Ch: into the holy Cittie. Now I would know what Bodies those wear that rose, whether it be not the same Bodies that wear dead & layd in thear Graves.

Mrs Hutchison. I know not but thay may be the same Bodies.

Mr Governor. Than the poynt is at an End.

Mrs Hutchison. I am not clear in the poynt. I cannot yet see that Ch: is united to these fleshly Bodies, & if he be not united to our fleshly Bodies, than those Bodies cannot rise.

Mr Damphord. The fleshly *Bodies of the wicked are not united to Ch: yet thay shall rise agayne.*

Mrs Hutchison. They shall rise to Condemnation.

Mr Damphord. That is nothinge. and soe the Bodies of the Sts shall rise to Salvation.

Mr Peters. I would aske Mrs Hutchison this Quest. whether yow thinke that the *very Bodys of Moses, Eliah, & Enoch were taken up into the Heavens*, or no.

Mrs Hutchison. *I know not* that I scruple the former. than much more this.

Mr Damphord. Thease are Opinions that cannot be borne. Thay shake the very foundation of our fayth & tends to the Overthrough of all Religion. Thay are not slight matters of greate Wayte & Consequence

Brother Willson. If the Church be satisfied with the Arguments that have been propounded that thay are convinced in thear Judgments that thease are Errors, *Let them expres it by thear usiall sign of houldinge up thear Hands*, & yt thay looke at them as groce & damnable Heresies. And because it is very late & many Thinges yet to

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goe over, the Church thinkes it meete to refer farder Dealinge with our Sister till the next Lecture day.

Mr Hutchison. I desire to know by what Rule I am to expres myselfe in my Assent or Dissent whan yet *my Mother* is not convinced. for I hope she will not shut her Eyes agaynst any Light.

Brother Willson. Brother, yow may as well make Quest. whether God will confesse yow before his Father wch is in Heaven, whan yow deny to confesse his Truth befor Men tho agaynst yor owne Mother.

Mr Damphord. Yow are not to be led by naturall affection, but to declare your opinion for the Truth & agaynst Error, though held by your owne Mother. The Quest. was not whether the Arguments were waytie enough to convince your Mother, but whether yow have Light enough to satisfie yor Contience that thay are Errors.

Mr Hutchison. Then I consent to them. as far as I know that thear is a Resurection &c.

Mr Sheppard. If thear be any of this Congregation that doe hould the same opinions, I advise them to take heed of it, for the hand of the Lord will finde yow out. & for Mrs Hutchison I would wish her to consider by what spirit & Light she is lead. for she hath often bosted of the Guidance of Gods Spirit & that her Revelations are as trew as the scriptures. but she hath allready confessed her Mistake in the 2 first poynts. by the Light she hath receaved from Mr Damphord. Now than her spirit hath led her into some Errors. therfor I hope she will see the rest to be Errors. & to suspect herselfe. & to know it is not Gods Spirit. but her owne Spirit that hath guided her hitherto, a spirit of Delusion & Error. & for my owne part I must needes say that I know not what Cowrse better to take: nor wherein I might show more love to her Soule. than in bringinge her to her owne Congregation, of wch she is a Member, to answr to thease dayngerous and fearfull Errors wch she hath drunke in, that thay under God wch have the care of her soule may deale wth her for them, & wach mor narrowly over her for time to come, & seeke to reclayme her, for she is of a most dayngerous Spirit, & likely wth her fluent Townge & forwardnes in Expressions to seduce & draw away many, Espetially simple Weomen of her owne sex.

Brother Willson: *If the church* be satisfied wth what hath bine spoken: & that thay *conceave. we ought to proceed to Admonition, we will take thear Silence for Consent: if any be otherwise minded. thay may expres themselves.*

Sargeon. Savidge./ For my part: I am not yet satisfied. nayther doe I see any Rule why the church should proceed to *Admonition:* seeinge that in the most Churches thear hath bine some Errors or Mistakes held. yea. & in this very Church of Corinth there was many unsownd opinions, & in particular some amongst them that held this very

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opinion: about the Resurrection as appears by Pawlls arguments in 15 Chapt. yet we doe not read: that the Church did admonish them for it. Indeed in poynt of fact as in the Case of Incest, the church proceeded to Excommunication: because it was groce & abominable but not for opinion: now *my Mother* not beinge accused. for any haynows fact. but *only for opinion. & that wherin she desires Information & Light.* [rather] than peremptorelye to hould, *I cannot consent that the church should proceed yet to admonish her for this.*

M^r^ Cotten. *Yo^r^. Mother. though she be not accused of any thinge in poynt of fact or practise. nayther for my owne part doe I know thear is any cause.* yet she may hould Errors as dayngerous & of worse Consequence than matters of practise cane be, & therefor I see not but the church may proceed to Admonition. and whereas yow say *she seekes Light & Information rather than hould them peremptorily.* yow hear that thear hath bine much paynes taken & many Arguments brought. not only from ourselves. but from divers of the Elders of other Churches. wch gives satisfaction to the rest of the Assembly & wch she is no wayes able to answer. & yet she persists in her Opinion: besides *the Apostle did admonish for poynt of Opinion.* for *Himeneus. & Philetus.* thay held thinges of this Nature. the Apostle doth give thear an Admonition for it, therfor yow doe a very evell office out of yo^r^ naturall not religious Affection, to hinder the Church in her proceeding & to be a meanes to harden your Mothers Heart in thease dayngerous Opinions. & so keepe her from Repentance. I pray consider of it.

Liuetenant Gibbens. I desire Leave of the church. for one word; not that I would open my mouth in the least kinde to hinder the Churches proceedings. in any way of God. *for I looke at our sister as a lost Woman.* & I blesse God to see the paynes y^t^ is taken to reduce her: but I would humbly propose this to the churches Consideration, seeinge *Admonition is one of the greatest Censures* that the Church can pronounce agaynst any offender. & one of the last next to Excommunication, (& to be used agaynst Impenitent Offenders,) but seinge God hath turned her hart abowt allready to see her Error, *or Mistake. as she calls it.* in some of the poynts. whether the Church had not better wayte a little longer. to see if God will not help her to see the rest & to acknowledge them. than the Church may have no occasion to come to this Censure.

M^r^ Simes. I am much greved to hear that soe many in this Congregation should stand up & declare themselves unwillinge that M^rs^ Hutchison should be proceeded agaynst for such dayngerous Errors. I fear, that if by any meanes this should be carried over into England, that in New England & in such a Congregation. thear was soe much spoken. & soe many Questions made. abowt *soe playne an Article* of our fayth *as the Resurrection is.* it will be one of the greatest Dishonors to

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Je: Ch: & of Reproach to thease Churches that hath bine done since we came heather.

Mr Damphord: I thinke it is meete. that if any of the Brethren have any Scruples upon thear Spirits. abowt this or any other Poynt yt shall be discussed, that thay should have free Leave to propound it. that it may be taken of. & thear Dowbts removed. & if thease Bretheren that wthstood the Church in proceedinge to Admonition did but consider. *that Admonition is an Ordinance of God.* & sanctified of him for this very End. as a spetiall & powerfull meanes to convince the partie offendinge as well as Arguments. & reasons given; than thay would not oppose it. the want of that Consideration is the Cause of thear present scruple herin.

Elder Oliver./ I desire to be satisfied in one Thinge, & I am glad that I have soe good an Opertunitie to propownd my Dowbt. at such a Time. whan God hath furnished us wth such store of Elders & Men of able parts from other Churches, that may resolve the same: And that is. How the church cane. or *whether it may proceede: to any Censure. whan all the Members doe not consent* thearto: *or whether the Church hath not power to lay a Censure upon them. that doe hinder the Churches* proceedinges.

Mr Cotten: I thinke Bretheren are to be satisfied: the church ought as much as in them lies to remove all Scruples, that if it may be, the whole Church may proceede wth one Consent. in the Act to be done; but if the Church doe take paynes, & doe bringe Arguments, such as satisfies the whole Congregation. to be sufficient to remoove such Scruples. if yet some Bretheren will persist in thear Dissent: upon no Ground: but for by Respects of thear owne. or owt of naturall affection . . than the Church is not to stay her proceedinge, for that.

Mr Damphord: I doe not see but yt the Church is satisfied. I perceive none doth oppose the Church: some only 2 or 3 wch are tied to her by Naturall Relation; for these others that have spoken, thay did propound it but as Scruples, & thay have reaceved satisfaction, & therfor I see nothinge that may hinder.

Sargion Oliver: I desire to propound this one Thinge to the Church. befor yow proseed to admonition/ I doe blesse God to see soe much Care & faythfullnes shewed to the sowle of this our Sister: & it doth rejoyce my Sowle. to see soe much paynes taken. & so many effectuall arguments brought to reduce her from her Errors & goinge astray. & it is of no lesse greife to my Spirit to see thease two Bretheren to speake soe much. & to scruple the proceedings of the Church in that way of God that is in hand. therefore I would propownd this. seeinge that all the proceedinges of the churches of Je: Ch: now should be accordinge to the *Patterne of the primitive Churches:* And the *primitive paterne was. that all Thinges in the Church: should be done wth*

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one hart & one sowle & one Consent; that any act. & every Act. done by the Church. may be as the Act of one Man. Therefor whether it be not meete. to *lay thease two Bretheren under an Admonition wth thear Mother;* that soe the church may proceed on wthout any further Opposition

Brother Willson. I thinke yow speake very well: it is very meete.

The whole Church by thear Silence. Consented to the Motion: & soe thay proceded to Admonition/ The rest of our Elders requested M^r^ Cotten to give the Admonition, as one whose Wordes, by the Blessinge of God, may be of more Respect, & sinke deeper, & soe was likely to doe more good upon the partie offendinge. than any of theas, & it was alsoe left to him, to doe as God should incline his hart, whether to lay any admonition upon her 2. Sonnes or no wth her selfe

M^r^ Cotten. I doe in the first place blesse the Lord: and thanke in my owne Name, & in the Name of owr Church, theas owr Bretheren, the Elders of other Churches, for thear Care & faythfullnes in waching over owr Churches, & for bringinge to Light what owr selves have not bine soe ready to see in any of owr Members, & to take soe much paynes, to seeke to reduce any of owrs from goinge astray: & I shall desier that this faythfull & wachfull Care of thears towards [us] may still be continued: & I dowbt not but the Lord Je: Ch: who is head of the whole Church will reward it into thear Bosoms/. I confes I have not bine ready to beleeve Reports, & have bine slowe of proceedinge agaynst any of owr Members, for want of sufficient Testimony to prove that wch hath bine layd to thear Charge./ But now thay have proceded in a way of God, & doe bringe such Testimonie: as doth Evince the Truth of what is affirmed, it would be owr sine if we should not joyne in the same, wch we are willinge to doe. And therfor in the first place, I shall direct my speech & admonition to you that are her sonnes, & sonne in Law; & let me tell yow from the Lord; though naturall affection may leade yow to speake in the Defence of yo^r^ mother, & to take her part & to seeke to keepe up her Credit & respect, wch may be lawfull & comendable in some Cases & at some times, yet in the Cause of God yow are nayther to know Father nor mother, sister nor Brother, but to say of them all as Levie did what have we to doe wth them, & though the Credit of yo^r^ mother be dear to yow, & yo^r^ Regard to her Name, yet the Regard yow should have of Ch: Name & yo^r^ Care of his Honour & Credit should outway all the other, yea & as you have herd, yow must cast downe her Name & Credit, tho it be the chiefest Crowne that ayther yourselves or yo^r^ mother hath, at the Feete of Je: Ch: & let that be trampled upon, soe his Crowne may be exalted. And I doe *admonish you both* in the name of Ch: Je: & of his Church: to consider how ill an office yow have performed to your Mother this day to be Instruments of hardninge her Hart & Nowrish-

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inge her in her unsound Opinions by yo^{r} pleadinge for her, & hindringe the proceedings of the Church agaynst her wch God hath directed us to take./ to heale her soule, & wch God might have blessed & made mor effectuall to her, had not you intercepted the Cowrse./ & how insteed of lovinge & naturall Children, *yow have proved Vipers, to Eate through the very Bowells of yo^{r} Mother*, to her Ruine, if God doe not gratiously prevent, therefor I advise you both, & admonish yow in the Lord. that yow desist from such practise, & take heed, how yow by yo^{r} flattery or mourninge over her: aplaudinge of her in her Opinion, or takinge part with her whan yow come home. do hinder the Work of Repentance in her. & keepe her from seeinge thease Evells in her selfe: but looke up to Ch: Je: & adrese yo^{r}selves to her wth all faythfull & gratious Counsells to her, that yow may doe what yow cane to bring her to a sight of her wronge way, & to reduce her from it. than shall yow performe the parts of faythfull Children indeed. The Lord will blesse yow. If yow doe otherwise, Looke that the Lord will bringe yow to an Account for it.

Next let me say somewhat to the Sisters of owr owne Congregation, many of whom I fear have bine too much seduced & led aside by her; therfore *I admonish yow* in the Lord to looke to your selves, & to take heed that yow reaceve nothinge for Truth wch hath not the stamp of the Word of God from it. I doubt not but some of you have allsoe reaceved much good from the Conference of this owr Sister & by your Converse wth her: & from her it may be yow have reaceved helpes in yo^{r} spirituall Estates, & have bine brought from Restinge upon any Duties or Workes of Righteowsnes of yo^{r} owne, but *let me say this to yow all, & to all the Sisters of other Congregations, Let not the good yow have receved from her, make yow to reaceve all for good that comes from her;* for you see she is but a Woman & *many unsound & daynger-ous Principles are held by her*, therfor whatsoever good you have rea-ceved owne it & keepe it carefully, but if you have drunke in wth this good any Evell or Poyson, make speed to vomit it up agayne & to repent of it & take [care] that yow doe not harden her in her Way by pitty-inge of her. or confirminge her in her opinions, but pray to God for her, & deale faythfully wth her soule in baringe Witnesse agaynst any unsound Thinge that at any Time she hath held forth to yow.

And now, Sister, let me adrese myselfe to yow./ the Lord put fitt Words into my Mouth. & carry them home to your Soule. for good. It is trew whan yow came first over, into this Cuntrye, we herd some thinge of some opinions that yow held: & vented upon the Seas, in the Ship whan yow came, wch whan you came to be propounded for a Member, we had some Conference wth you about them hear,/ in wch you ded give us such satisfaction, that after some little stay to yo^{r} Ad-mition yow wear reaceved in amongst us. & since that admission I

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would speake it to Gods Glory yow have bine an Instrument of doing some good amongst us, yow have bine helpfull to many, to bringe them of from thear unsound Grounds and Principles, & from buildinge thear good Estate upon thear owene duties and performances, or upon any Righteousness of the Law. And the Lord hath indued yew wth good parts & gifts fitt to instruct your children & Servants, & to be helpfull to your husband in the Government of the famely. he hath given yow a sharpe apprehension, a ready utterance & abilitie to exprese yo^rselfe in the Cawse of God. I would deal wth yow as Ch: Je. deales wth his Churches whan he goes to admonish them, to take a Vew, & to call to yo^r mind the good Thinges that he hath bestowed upon yow. Yet Notwithstandinge, we have a few Thinges agaynst you,/ & in some sence not a few. but such as are of great Wayte & of a heavy Nature & dayngerous Consequences. Therefore let me warne yow & admonish yow in the Name of Je: Ch: to consider of it seriously, how the Dishonour you have brought unto God, by thease unsownd Tenets of yo^r, is far greater than all the honor yow have brought to him, & the Evell of yo^r Opinions doth outway all the good of yo^r Doinges. Consider how many poore sowles yow have mislead, & how yow have convayed the poyson of yo^r unsound principles into the harts of many wch it may be will never be reduced agayne. Consider in the fear of God, that by this one Error of yours in denyinge the Resurection of thease very Bodies, yow doe the uttermost to rase the very foundation of Religion to the Ground, & to destroy our fayth, yea all owr preachinge & yo^r hearinge & all owr sufferinges for the fayth to be in vayne, if thear be no Resurection than all is in vayne, & we of all people are most miserable yea consider *if the Resurection be past, than yow cannot Evade the Argument* that was prest upon you by *owr Brother Buckle* & others, that filthie Sinne of the *Comunitie of Weomen;* & all promiscuus & filthie cominge togeather of men & Weomen. wthout Distinction or Relation of Marriage, will necessarily follow, & though I have not herd, nayther doe I thinke, yow have bine unfaythfull to yo^r Husband in his Marriage Covenant, *yet that will follow upon it*, for it is the very argument that the Saduces. bringe to our Savior Ch: agaynst the Resurrection: and that wch the Annabaptists & Familists bringe, to prove the Lawfullnes of the common use of all Weomen, & soe more dayngerous Evells & filthie Unclenes & other sines will followe than yowe do now Imagine or conceave.

M^rs Hutchison; I desier to speake one word, befor yow proceed: I would forbar but by Reason of my Weakness. I fear I shall not remember it whan yow have done.

M^r Cotten: Yow have Leave to speake.

M^rs Hutchison. All that I would say is this that *I did not hould any of thease Thinges before my Imprisonment.*

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M^r^ Cotten: I confesse I did not know that yow held any of thease Things, nor heare till hear of late: but it may be it was my sleepines & want of wachfull care over yow / but yow see the daynger of it & how God hath left yow to yo^r^ selfe to fall into thease dayngerows Evells, for I must needs say that *I have often feared the highth of yo^r^ Spirit & being puft up wth yo^r^ owne parts*, & therfore it is just wth God thus to abase yow & to leave yow to thease desperat falls, for the Lord looketh upon all the children of pride, & delights to abase them & bringe them lowe. / And soe, the other Thinges that yow hould of the *Mortalletie of the Sowle by Nature*, & that *Ch: is not united to our Bodies:* and that *the Resurrection* spoken of at his appearinge is ment of his *appearinge to us in Union*, thease are of dayngerows Consequence, & set an open Doore to all Epicurisme & Libertinisme; if this be soe than come let us eate & drinke, for to morrow we shall dye, than let us naythor fear Hell nor the losse of Heaven; than let us beleve thare is naythor Ayngelles nor Spirits. What need we care what we speake, or doe, hear, if our Sowles perish & dye like beasts /. *Nay though yow should not hould thease Things positively*, yet if yow doe but make a Question of them, & propownd them as a doubt for satisfaction, yet others that hear of it will conclude them positively, & thay will thinke: suer thear is some thinge in it, if M^rs^ Hutchison makes a Question of it, if those that have great parts of Wisdome & Understandinge, & if such eminent christians make a Question of them, thear is somethinge that needs further Serch & Inquirie abowt them, & soe. yo^r^ Opinions frett like a Gangrene, & spread like a Leprosie, & infect farr and near, & will eate out the very Bowells of Religion. / & hath soe infected the Churches. that God knowes whan thay will be cured. *Therfor that I may draw to an End; I doe Admonish yow, & alsoe charge yow in the Name of Ch: Je: in whose place I stand*, & in the Name of the Church who hath put me upon this service; that yow would sadly consider the just hand of God agaynst yow, *the great hurt yow have done to the Churches, the great Dishonour yow have brought to Je: Ch:* & the Evell that yow have done to many a poore sowle, & *seeke unto him to give yow Repentance* for it, & a hart to give satisfaction to the Churches yow have offended hereby /, & bewayle yo^r^ Weaknes in the Sight of the Lord, that yow may be pardoned, & consider the great Dishonor & Reproch, that hereby yow have brought upon this Church of owrs wherof yow are a Member, how you have layd us all under a Suspition, yea, & a Censure of houldinge & mayntayne Errors. / therefor thinke of it & be jeliows of yo^r^ owne Spirit in the rest & take heed how yow Leaven the hartes of yownge Weomen wth. such unsownd & dayngerows principles, but Labor rather to recover them out of the Snaers, as opertunetie shall serve, wch yow have drawen them to, & soe the Lord carry home to yo^r^ Sowle what I have spoken to yow in his Name.

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Mr Shephard. Lest the Crowne should be set on her Hed in the day of her Humiliation I desire Leave to speake one Word, befor the Assemblie break up. It is no little Affliction nor Grefe to my Spirit to hear what Mrs Hutchison did last speake, it was a Trowble to me to see her interrupt yow, by speakinge in the midst of her Censure; unto wch she ought to have attended, wth fear & Tremblinge; but it was an Astonishment to me to hear, that she shuld thus Impudently affirme soe horrible an Untruth & falshood, in the midest of such a sollomne Ordinance of Je: Ch: & befor such an Assembly as this is; yea in the face of the Church *to say, she held none of thease Opinions, befor her Imprisonment*, whan she knowes that she used this Speech to me, whan I was wth her & delt wth her abowt thease opinions, & she had fluently & forwardly expressed herselfe to me, yet she aded If I had but come to her befor her Restraynt, she would have opned herselfe mor fully to me & have declared many other Things abowt them, yea of thease very Opinions: therfor I am sorry yt Mrs Hutchison. should soe far forget herselfe; it showes but little frute of all the paynes taken wth her. This makes me mor to fear the unsowndnes of her hart than all the rest.

Mr Eliot. It was the same Trowble & Greife alsoe to my selfe.

Brother Willson /. Sister Huchison, I requier yow in the Name of the Church to present yorselfe hear agayne, the next Lecture day, Viz this day Sevennight, to give yor *Answer.* to. *such other Thinges as this Church or the Elders of other Churches have to charge yow wthall*, Concerninge yor Opinions, whether yow hould them or no, or will revoke them.

Mrs Hutchisons. *second Examination* in Boston Church. one Thirsday Lectuer day after Sermon: March: 22th 1638, *befr all the Elders of other Churches*, & the Face of the Cuntry.

Elder Leveret. Sister Hutchison, yow are farther to make Answr to other Thinges, layd to yor Charge: But first I would have the Members of owr owne Church draw near to expresse thear Consent or Dissent to the Things in hand. wch doth most concerne them. Mrs Hutchison, the Things further layd to yor Charge are these:

1. Those that have Union wth Ch: shall not rise in these Bodyes.
2. The Resurect in 1 Cor. 15. is not spoken of or Resurection at the last day but of or Union to Ch: Je:
3. That thear is no created Graces in Belevers after Union: befor Union ther is, but after Union Ch: takes them owt of us into himselfe.
4. That in Ch: thear is no created Graces.
6. That thear is an Ingraftinge into Ch: befor owr Union wth him, from wch we may fall away.

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Hear is further agayst yow.

1. That yo[r] particular Revelations abowt futire Events wear as infaliable as the scriptures them selves. That yow wear bound to beleeve them as well as the Scriptures: because the Ho: Gho: was the Author of both.
2. That Sanctification coud be no Evidence of a good Estate at all.
3. That Union to Ch: Je: is not by Fayth.
4. That an Hipocrite may have Adams Righteousness & perish.
5. That we have no Grace in owr Selves. but all is in Ch: & thear is no inherent Righteowsnes in us.

To the 3 first from N. Towne. yew gave no satisfaction. Therefor an Admonition past agaynst yow. therfor yow are now to give further satisfaction abowt them.

M[r] Huchison. for the first, I doe acknowledge I was deeply deaceved, the opinion was very dayngerows. 1 C[or.] 6. 19. 18

2. Though *I never dowbted that the Sowle was Imortall* / yet... Things *I renownce, as that the Sowle was purchased to eternall payne.*
3. I acknowledge my Mistake of Belevers havinge two Bodies. soe now I see that the Apostle in 1 Cor: 6. 14. 15. speakes of persons, in one place, & of bodies, in another.
4. I acknowledge & I doe thanke God that I better see that Ch: is united to our Fleshlye Bodies, as 1 Cor. 6. 18. 19. *I doe acknowledge that the same Body. that lies in the Grave. shall rise agayne. & renownce the former. as eronious.* Es. 11. 2.
5. For no Graces beinge in Beleevers I desier that to be understood that thay are *not in us. but as thay flow from Ch:* & I doe not acknowledge any Graces in us, accompanying Salvation before Union.
6. I acknowledge that thar is Graces created in Ch: Je: as Esa. 11. 2, 2 P. 4. 24, Col. 3. 10.
8. I doe see good Warrant that Ch: Mantion is in heaven as well as his Body.
9. I have considered some Scriptures that satisfie me that the Image of Adam is Righteousnes & Holiness.
10. I hould that to be a dayngerous Error wch than I held.
11. *I confes now the Law is a Rule of Life* & I acknowledge the other to be a hateful Error, & that wch openeth a Gap to all Lisentiowsnes, & I beleve the Law is a Rule of owr Life, & if we doe any Thing contrary to it it is a grewows Sine.

Thus she answered to the first sixteen Objections.

Have you any Answer to the rest?

Answ[r] to M[r] Wells Articles.

1. That Sanctification cant be an Evidence but as it flowes from Ch: & is witnesed to us by the Spirit.

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2. *For these Scriptures that I used at the Covrt in Censuringe the Cuntrie, I confes I did it rashly & owt of heate of Spirit & unadvisedly, & have cause to be sorry for my unreverent Cariage to them & I am hartely sorry that any Things I have sayde have drawn any from hearinge any of the Elders of the Bay.*
3. I acknowledge y^e^ comand of fayth is a part of the Doctrine of the Gospell.
4. That thear *is no fayth of Gods Elect but Assurance*, & that thear is no Fayth of Dependance, but such as Hipocrits may have.

M^rs^ Huchison. I never held any such Thing.

Elder Leverett. It seems yow did hould it, tho' after yow revoked it.

5. I doe not beleeve that a Hipocrite cane attayne to Adam's Righteousnes.
6. We are dull to act in spirituall Thinges savingly, but as we are acted by Ch:

For the 9^th^ *I deny it, that not beinge bound to the Law it is no Transgression to breake it | I never held it | for I acknowledge any Breach of the Law is a sine*, & the former is a hatefull Error.

Brother Willson. Thear is one Thinge y^t^ will be necessary for you Sister to answer to wch was objected to yow. the last meetinge, but it beinge soe late. we could not take yo^r^ Answ^r^, & that was, that yow denied yow held none of those Thinges but since yo^r^ Durance / wheras he aledged to yow that yow expressed befor the contrary.

M^rs^ Huchison. As my sine hath bine open, soe I thinke it needfull to acknowledge how I came first to fall into thease Errors. Instead of Lookinge upon myselfe I looked at Men, I know my Dissemblinge will doe no good. I spake rashly & unadvisedly. *I doe not allow the slightinge of Ministers. nor of the Scriptures* nor any Thinge that is set up by God: if M^r^ Shephard doth conceave that I had any of these Thinges in my Minde, than he is deceaved. It was never in my hart to slight any man, but only that man should be kept in his owne place & not set in the Roome of God.

Elder Leverit. That the Assemblie may know what yow have delivered, as our Honor^d^ Governor hath mooved, it is meet some body should expres what yow say to the Congregation wch heard nor.

M^r^ Cotten The Sume of what she sayed is this, that she did not fall into thease groce & fundamentall Errors till she came to Roxbery. & the Grownd was this, her Miscariages & disrespect that she showed to the Magistrates whan she was befor them. who are set up by . . . & those that doe soe lead themselves into Errors, & she doth utterly disalow herselfe & condemne herselfe, for that Cariage: & she confesseth the Roote of all was the hight & Pride of her Spirit, soe for her slighting the Ministers she is hartely sorry for it: for her particular Relation

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in her Speach to the Disgrace. of him, She is sorry for it & desires all that she hath offended to pray to God for her to give her a hart to be more truly humbled.

Mr Shephard. If this day whan Mrs Hutchison should take Shame & Confusion to herselfe for her groce & damnable Errors, she shall cast Shame upon others & say thay are mistaken, & to turne of many of those groce Errors with soe slight an Answer as *your Mistake*, I fear it doth not stand wth true Repentance / I confes I am wholy unsatisfied in her Expressions, to some of the Errors. Any Heretick may bringe a slye Interpritation, upon any of thease Errors & yet hould them to thear Death: therfor I am unsatisfied, I should be glad to see any Repentance in her: that might give me Satisfaction.

Mr Elliot. Mrs Hutchison did affirme to me, as she did to Mr Shephard, that if we had come to her before her restraynt or Imprisonment she could & would have tould me many Thinges of Union &c / but now we had shut & debarred owrselves from that Helpe, by impresinge & procedinge agaynst her, & she did produce some Scriptures to me.

Mr Shephard. She puts of many Thinges wth her Mistake, as in union wth Ch: Ch: takes all these Graces he finds in us into ourselves, & transacts us him selfe.

Mr Cotten. Sister, was thear not a Time, whan once yow did hould that thear was *no distinct graces inherent in us, but all was in Ch: Je:*

Mrs Hutchison. *I did mistake the word Inherent*, as Mr Damphord can tell who did cause me first to see my Mistake in the word inherent.

Mr Elliot. We are not satisfied wth what she sayth, that she should say now, *that she did never deny Inherence of Grace* in us, *as in a subject*, for she beinge by us pressed soe wth it, she denyed that thear was *no Graces inherent in Ch: himselfe.*

Mr Shephard. She did not only deny the word inherent. / but denyed the very Thinge itselfe; than I asked her, if she did beleeve that the spirit of God was in Beleevers.

Mrs Hutchison. *I confes my Expressions was that way, but it was never my Judgment.*

Mr Damphord. It requiers yow to answer playnly in thease Thinges.

Mr Elliot. She did playnly expres herselfe to me that thear was *no difference betweene the Graces that are in Hipocrits & those that are in the Sts.*

Mr Cotten Thear is 2 thinges to be clerd, 1. what yow doe now hould, 2ly. what yow did hould.

Mrs Hutchison. My Judgment is not altered though my Expression alters.

Brother Willson. This yow say is most dayngerous, for if yor Judgment all this while be not altered, but only yor Expressions, whan yowr Expressions are soe contrary to the Truth.

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M^r^ Simes. I should be glad to see any Humiliation in M^rs^ Hutchison / I am afrayd that she lookes but to Spriges /, for I fear thease are no new Thinges, but she hath ayntientlye held them, and had need to be humbled for her former Doctrines, & for her abuse of divers Scriptures, & if she held no new Thinge, yet she ought to be humbled for what she hath held formerly as, *A christians beinge dead to all spirituall Actinge after thay are united to Ch:* & soe that of Graces. She hath brought that place in Esa: that all flesh is grasse & poor witheringe Thinges, & soe other Things to the like purpose.

M^r^ Peters: We did thinke she would have humbled herselfe for denyinge Graces this day, for her opinions are dayngerous & fundamentall & such as takes downe the Articles of Religion, as *denying the Resurrection*, & fayth, & all Sanctification, soe that some Elders have made whole Sermons, for fayth, as if fayth should never hould up her Hed agayne in this Cuntrye; as it hath done in our Native Cuntry.

Deputie.[1] M^rs^ Hutchisons Repentance is only for Opinions held since her Imprisonment, but befor her Imprisonment she was in a good Condition, & held no Error, but did a great deale of Good, to many. Now I know no Harme that M^rs^ Hutchison hath done since her Confinement, therfor I think her Repentance will be worse than her Errors, for if by this meanes she shall get a partie to herselfe, & what can any Heretick in the World desier more / & for her forme of Recantation, her *Repentance is in a paper*, whether it was drawn up by herself, or whether she had any helpe in it I know not, & will not now Inquier to, but suer *her Repentance is not in her Cowntenance*, none cane see it thear I thinke; therfor I speak this only to put the Elders in minde to speake to this whether she did not hould errors before her Imprissonment.

M^r^ Wells. I must needs say that before this she hath sayd to me, whan I spake of Graces, that she would not pray for fayth, nor for patience & the like, which whan I asked her it she would stand to that, & tooke out my pen & Inke to have writ it downe, than she turns it this way, *I will not pray for Patience but for the God of Patience.*

Governo^r^ / I must put M^rs^ Hutchison in minde of a paper that she sent me, wherin she did very much slight fayth.

M^rs^ Hutchison. Those papers wear not myne.

M^r^ Peters. I would say this, whan I was once speakinge wth her about the *Woman of Elis:* she. did. exceedingly magnifie her to be a Womane of 1000, hardly any like to her. & yet we know. that the *Woman of Elis:* is a dayngerous Woman, & houlds forth greewous Things, & ferfull Errors, & whan I tould her that hear was divers worthy & godly Weomen Even amongst us, & than. she sayd, she ment

[1] Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley.

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she was better than soe many Jewes /. Soe that I beleeve. that she hath vilde Thoughts of us, & thinkes us to be nothinge but a company of Jewes, & that now God is convirtinge of Jewes.

Mr Hutchison. I sayd of the Woman of Elis but what I herd, for I knew her not nor never sawe her.

Brother Willson. I must needs say this & if I did not say soe much I could not satisfie my owne Contience herin, for wheras yow say that the Cawse or Root of thease yor Errors, was yor slightinge & Disrespect of the Magistrates & yor unreverent Carriage to them, / wch though I thinke that was a greate Sine, & it may be one Cawse why God should thus leave you, but that is not all, for I fear & beleve ther was another, & a greater Cawse, & that is the *slightinge of Gods fayth-full Ministers & contemninge & cryinge downe them as Nobodies*, & wheras yow say that one Cawse was the settinge up of men in the Roome of God, & a to high & honorable Esteme of them, I doe not deny but it may be yow might have an honorable Esteme of some one or 2. Men, as owr Teacher & the like, yet I thinke it was, to set up *yor selfe in the Roome of God:* above others, *that yow might be extolled & admired, & followed* after, *that yow might be a greate Prophites* . . & Undertake to expound Scriptures, / & to interpret other Mens Sayings, & sermons after yor minde / & therefor I beleve yor Iniqwite hath found yow out, & wheras befor if any delt wth yow about any Thinge yow called for Witnesses & for yor Accusers, & who can lay it to yor Charge, / now God hath left you to yor selfe, & yow have hear confessed that wch befor yow have called for Witnesses to prove, therfor it greves me, that yow should soe mince *yor dayngerous, fowle & damnable Herisies*, wherby yow have soe wickedly departed from God & done soe much hurt.

Mr Shephard. I thinke it is needles for any other. now to speake. & useless, for the Case is playne, & hear is Witnesses enough.

Mr Elliot. Some will acknowledge the Word Gifts & Frutes, but thay deny the word Graces: thay acknowledge actings of the Spirit: & by such Distinctions, I could wipe of all her Repentance in that paper, therfore she shall doe well to express her selfe playnly, what her Judgment now is, in thease Thinges.

Mrs Huchison. Our Teacher knowes my Judgment, for I never kept my Judgment from him.

Deputie / I doe remember, that whan she was examined, abowt the six Questions or Articles, abowt Revelations &c, that she held nothinge but what Mr Cotten held.

Mr Wells. I cane affirme the same to, for whan I spake wth her she tould me that Mr Cotten & she was both of one minde, & she held no more than Mr Cotten did in thease Thinges, & whan I told her that then she was lately chaynged in her Opinion, & I urged her with some

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Thinges, that Mr Cotten had left some Thinges in Writinge expresly agaynst some of the opinions she held; *she affirmed still that thear was no difference betweene Mr Cotten & She.*

Sargeon Oliver. I know the Time whan Mrs Hutchison did plead for Creature Graces, & did acknowledge them, & stood for them, / but since she hath used these Expressions in way of Dislike I have pleaded as much for Graces as others, now if yow doe not deny, *created Graces in us*, than cleer that Expression.

Mrs Hutchison. I confes I have denyed the Word Graces, but not the Thinge itselfe, & whan I sayd I had pleaded for them as much as others, *I ment only in seekinge Comfort from them.*

Mr Simes. In the Ship, she may remember that she was often *offended at the Expression of growinge in Grace* and laying up a *Stock of Grace*, & that *all Grace is in Ch: Je:*

Brother Willson. I know she hath sayd it & affirmed it dogmatically, *that the Graces of God is not in us*, & we have no Graces. in us, but only the Righteousnes of Ch: Imputed to us, and if thear be any Actinge in us it is Ch: only that acts. 53. Esa. Gal. 2.

Mr Mather / Mrs Hutchison may remember that in her Speakinge wth me that she denyed all Graces to be in us, that thear was naythe faith, nor knowledge nor Gifts & Graces, no nor Life itselfe, but all is in Ch: Je: / & she brought some Scriptures, to prove her Opinions, as *that befor Union, thear was Graces & Fayth in us, but not after Union*, and she Coted Romans 11, *Thow standest by Fayth be not high minded but fear, lest thow also be cut of*, whar sayth she, befor Union thear is Fayth, thow standest by fayth, but if yow be high minded, yow shall be cut of, & for knowledge it is not in us. but in Ch: & soe than yow brought Esa. 53, by his Knowledge shall my Righteows Servant Justifie many, thear, sayth she, *we are Justified by his Knowledge*, yt is in him, & not by owr Knowledge, & for fayth that in Galat. 2. Yow brought I live but not I but Je: Ch: lives in me: therfor I wonder that Mrs Huchison doth soe far forget herselfe, as to deny that she did not formerly hould this Opinion of denying Gifts & Graces to be in us.

Mr Peters. I would desier Mrs Huchison in the name of the Lord that she would serch into her hart farther to helpe on her Repentance /, for though she hath confessed some Thinges yet it is far short of what it should be, & therfore

1. I fear yow are not well principled & grownded in yor Catechisme.
2. I would commend this to yor Consideration that yow have stept owt of yor place, *yow have rather bine a Husband than a Wife*, & a *preacher than a Hearer;* & a *Magistrate than a Subject*, & soe yow have thought to carry all Thinges in Church & Commonwealth. as yow would, & have not bine humbled for this.

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Governor; Seinge divers Sisters of the Congregation have builded upon her Experience, therfor I thinke it w^d^ be very Expedient, & much to Gods Glory if she would declare har what here Estate is, or wherin her good Estate is, if not by Ingraftinge into Ch: Je: for the Estate she held owt before the Elders / was not by Ingrafting into Ch: for a *Man may be Ingrafted into Ch: Je: & yet fall away.*

M^r^ Wells. I desire that Motion may go on.

M^r^ Shephard. Yow have not only to deale wth a Woman this day that houlds diverse erronius Opinions, but wth one, that never had any trew Grace in her hart & that by her owne Tenect / yea this day she hath shewed herselfe to be a Notorius Imposter, it is a Tricke of as notorious Subtiltie as ever was held in the Church, to say thear is no Grace in the Saints, & now to say she hath, & that she all this while hath not altered her Judgment, but only her Expressions.

2. I would have yow quest. whether she was ever in a state of Grace or no, [seeing] her horrible Untruths, that she hath affirmed in the Congregation & proved by many Witnesses, & yet she hath not confessed it before the Lord.
3. *I would have the Congregation judge whether ever thear was any Grace in her hart or no;* or whither the Spirit of Glory rests upon her in the Cause she suffers. Soe her Cawse w^t^ good, for wch she suffers, & doth not suffer as an evell doer, than the spirit of Glory & Ch: shall rest upon them that suffer. as Peter speaks; now if in her Restraynt God hath soe left her, soe sur to her selfe as she hath now confessed, that she never held any of thease Opinions till her Imprissonment, wch is the Time of her Humiliation & persecution she thinkes, therfor by Peter her sufferings is not for good, because such an evell spirit hath rested upon her in this Time of her Humilliation.
4. Upon this Ground, I thinke yow are to deale wth her, not only for her Opinions, as wth one who is to be questioned whether ever she was in a good Estate, because the Grownd of her Opinions hath bine built upon fayned & fantasticall Revelations, as she held forth 2. in the Court, one for the certayne Destruction of Ould England & another for the Ruine of this Cuntrie & the people therof for thear proceedinge agaynst her: therefor I pray consider of it, & the rather I note this that all those Weomen & others that have bine led by her & doted soe much upon her & her Opinions.

M^r^ Peters. We are not satisfied in her Repentance, in that she hath expressed, wherin she layes her Censuer or Imprissonment to be the Cawse of all her Errors, as if she wear Inocent befor.

Brother Willson. I cannot but reverence & adore the wise hand of God in this thinge, & canot but acknowledge that the Lord is just

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in leavinge *owr Sister to pride & Lyinge*, & owt of hith Spirit to fal into Errors & divers unsound Judgments, & I looke at *her as a dayngerus Instrument of the Divell* raysed up by Sathan amongst us to rayse up Divisions & Contentions & to take away harts & affections one from another, / wheras befor thear was much Love & Union & sweet agreement amongst us before she came, yet since all Union & Love hath bine broken & thear hath bine Censurings & Judgings & Condemnings one of another / & I doe conceve all these wofull Opinions doe come from this Botome, for if the Botome hath bine unsound & corrupt, than must the Building be such, & the Misgovernment of this Woman's Townge hath bine a great Cawse of this Disorder, wch hath not bine to set up the Ministry of the Word ayther hear or elce whear, but to set up her selfe, & to draw deciples after her, & therfor she sayth one Thinge to day & another thinge to morrow: & to speake falsely & doubtfully & dullye, wheras we should speake the Truth playnly one to another. I doe therfor this conceave in the poynt of Religion & in the poynt of Doctrine, thay take away the bottome, woe be to that sowle that shall build upon such botoms. Owr sowles should abhor & loth to come soe far short in Repentance, therfor I thinke as she was lyable to an Admonition befor, soe thear should be a . . . of our Church, & a proceedinge therin, to Ease our selves of such a member, Espetially for her untruth, or Lyes, as that she was allways of the same Judgment, only she hath altered her Expressions. / Therfor I leave it to the Church to consider how safe it is to suffer soe eronius & soe schismaticall & soe unsound a member amongst us, & one that stands guiltie of soe fowle a falshood / therfor consider whether we shall be faythfull to Je: Ch: or whether it cane stand wth his hono^r^ to suffer such an one any longer amongst us; if the blind lead the blind, whether shall we goe. Consider how we cane or whether we may longer suffer her, to goe on still in seducinge to seduce, & in deacevinge to deaceve, & in lyinge to lye, & in condemninge Authoritie & Magistracie, still to contemne. Therfor we should sine agaynst God if we should not put away from us soe Evell a Woman, guiltie of such fowle Evells. Therfor if the church be of an other minde Let them Express themselves, if she may not be seperated from the Congregation of the Lord.

Elder Oliver. I did not thinke the Church would have come thus far soe soone, espetially seinge whan I taulked wth her in the morninge I saw her to come of soe freely in her Confession of her sine in contemninge Magistrats & Ministers.

M^r^ Elliot. It is a wonderfull Wisdom of God to let them fall by that whearby they have upheld thear Opinions, & carried them as to let her fall into such Lies, as she hath done this day, for she hath caried on all her Erors by Lies, as that she held nothinge but what M^r^ Cotten

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did, & that he & she was all one in Judgment, & soe it fared with divers others, that we have cast out of our Church of these opinions. [Rev.] 22. 15.

Mr Cotten. The matter is now translated, the last day she was delt wth in poynt of Doctrine, now she is delt wth in poynt of practise, & soe it belongs to the Pastors Office to instruct & also to correct in Righteowsnes, whan a Lye is open & persisted in, in the face of the Congregation after proved by Witnes. I know not how to satisfye myselfe in it, but accordinge to that in Revel. 22. 15. If it come to this to the makinge of a Lye; than wthowt shall be doges, & such as love & makes lyes. therfor though she have confessed, that she sees many of the Thinges wch she held to be Errors, & that it proceded from the Roote Pride of Spirit, yet I see this pride of Harte is not healed but is working still, & therfor to keep secret some unsownd Opinions, God hath lett her fall into a manifest Lye, yea to make a Lye, & therfor as we receaved her in amongst us I thinke we are bownd upon this Grownd to remove her from us & not to retayne her any longer, seeinge she doth prevaricate in her Words, as that her Judgment is one Thinge & her Expression is another.

Mr Damphord. God will not bare with Mixtures in this kinde, therfor yow must freely Confesse the Truth, take Shame to yor selfe, that God may have the Glory, & I fear that God will not let you see yor sine, & confes it, till the Ordinance of God hath taken place agaynst yow. Soe that it semes to me God hath a purpose to goe on in the Course of his Judgment agaynst you.

Quest. I desire to be satisfied in this how the Church may prosced to *Excommunication*, whan the Scripture saythe he that confesseth & forsaketh sine shall have Mercy, & whether we should not bare with Patience the contrary minded.

Mr Cotten. Confession of Sine thear is ment wthall the Agrivations of it . . wch yet hath not appeared to us, & by baring wth the contrary minded, is ment of these that are wthowt

Mr Scot. I desire to propownd this one Scruple, wch keepes me that I canot soe freely in my Spirit give way to Excommunication/ whether it wear not better, to give her a little time to consider of the Thinges that is . . . vised agaynst her, becawse. *she is not yet convinced of her Lye* & soe things is with her in Distraction, & she canot recollect her Thoughts.

Mr Cotten. This now is not for poynt of Doctrine, wherin we must suffer her wth patience, but we now deal wth her in poynt of fact or practise, as the makinge & houldinge of a Lye: now in poynt of groce fact, thear may be a present proceedinge.

Mr Shephard. I perceve it is the Desire of many of the Brethren to stay her Excommuuication, & to let a second Admonition lye upon her;

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but now for one not to drop a Lye, but to make a Lye, & to mayntayne a Lye: & to doe it in a day of Humilliation, & in the sight of God, & such a Congregation as this is, I would have this Church consider. whether it will be for the Honor of God & the hono^{r} of this Church to bare with patience soe groce an offendor.

M^{r} Mather. The Apostle sayth an Hereticke after once or twise Admonition reject & cut of like a Gangrene as the word signifies: now, she hath bine once admonished allready, why than should not the Church proceed.

M^{r} Leverit. The Word is after once or twice by a Copulative.

Deputie. I would answer this to M^{r} Leverit, to his Objection after twise Admonition; Now M^{rs} Huchison hath bine delt [with] and admonished, not once, twise nor thrice, but many Times, by privat Bretheren, & by Elders of other Congregations, & by her owne Church, therfor that should be no scruple, besides I thinke that text doth not speake of the Admonition of the Church but of privat Admonition.

Straynger. I would desire to knowe, if the Church procedes agaynst her, whether it be for Doctrine, or for her Lye: if for her Lye. than I consent: if it be for her Doctrine, she hath renownced that as Eroneus, & than I want Light to goe wth the Church in it.

Brother Willson. For my part, if the Church proceds. I thinke it is, & it should be, for her Errors in Opinion, as well as for poynt of Practise, for though she hath made some showe of Repentance yet it doth not seme to be cordial & sincere, & that of *Achan tho he did confes & acknowledge his sine, yet Joshua, & that by the apoyntment of God, did proced agaynst him,* & in Corinth, as soon as ever the Apostle herd of that sine committed agaynst them, he writes his Letter, *to cast them out forthwth* wthout delay.

M^{r} Cotten: For yow to propownd Termes of Delay: what Rule have yow for it, whan in poynt of practise, thear hath bine a presant proceeding, as in Acts 5. *as soon as ever Annanias had tould a Lye, the Church cast them out.*

Brother Willson. The Church consentinge to it we will proced to

EXCOMUNICATION.

Forasmuch as yow, M^{rs} Huchison, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways *troubled the Church wth yo^{r} Erors* & have drawen away many a poor soule, & have *upheld yo^{r} Revelations:* & forasmuch as *yow have made a Lye,* &c. Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but *I doe cast yow out* & in the name of Ch. *I doe deliver you up to Sathan,* that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I doe account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of

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all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: therfo^r *I command yow* in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church *as a Leper to withdraw yo^r selfe owt of the Congregation;* that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yo^r Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them."

Sept. 3, 1771. I finished this Transcript from Original.

EZRA STILES.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN announced that the second volume of Judge Sewall's "Letter Book" had been printed, and was ready for delivery to members.

Mr. YOUNG communicated the following papers from the Hon. William D. Northend: —

SALEM, Aug. 3, 1888.

DEAR SIR, — In the letter of Samuel Sewall published in the Introduction of the first volume [Sewall Papers, vol. i. p. xiv], he speaks of the death of William Dummer, *son* of Jeremiah. It is a mistake, probably in the copying. The William Dummer referred to was *brother* of Jeremiah and *son* of Richard, the first.

Respectfully, W. D. NORTHEND.

SALEM, Aug. 20, 1888.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, was so kind as to send me by his daughter the original letter of Samuel Sewall regarding his ancestry, etc.; and I compared it with the printed letter in Vol. I. of the Diary, and make the following corrections in the printed copy:

Introduction, page xii, 18th line, after "my father," read "and mother."
27th line, for "made," read "provided."
32d " after "my father's house," read "Septemb^r 24."
39th " omit final "s" in "afterwards."
42d " after "remember," read "my."

On page xiv, 3d line, for "decree," read "Degree."
11th line, for "born in," read "born at."
3d line from bottom, after "Col. Townsend," read "Mr. Stoddard."

The statement on page xiv of the death of Mr. William Dummer was in a note on the margin, made with different ink, but, I think, in S. S.'s handwriting. Richard Dummer's first son, William, died at the age and time described. Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, son of Jeremiah, was born in 1677, one year before the death of "Mr. William Dummer."

I also, by permission of Mr. Sewall's daughter, made a copy of a letter of Jeremiah Dummer of date 9th May, 1716. This letter is interesting

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as giving an inside view of the circumstances attending the declination of Colonel Burgess,[1] and you may make such use of it as you desire.

Yours resp'ly,

Rev. E. J. Young. W. D. Northend.

P. S. You will notice on page xxii of the Introduction that Stephen Dummer and wife and family, except Jane, returned to England in 1647. I have seen it stated elsewhere that Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall returned to England soon after Stephen Dummer; but the letter makes it certain that they both returned with Stephen Dummer.

Dear Sr, — If the Ships have gone safe to you of late, you must have a pretty many of my letters, some of them short & hasty, others more at large & deliberate. As for those affairs of New England which are already transacted & are now matters of fact, I 'll refer you to the information of others. It shall be my task to write of what is to come, as far at least as I can pry into the dark subject of Futurity. Without any great skill in the occult Sciences, I may confidently tell you that your Lieut! Governour will be out, & that too notwithstanding Col. Burgess which causes the Loss, & I cant in the least doubt but my Countrey will be so Just as to repay it. Col. Shute would not think of advancing any money himselfe as it was not reasonable that Col. Burgess should Quit without being paid the Charges of his Commission, Equipage &c. In this case I could not doubt a minute what I was to do, yet for forms' sake I advisd with the friends of the Countrey, & they assured me it was my duty to do it, & that the Countrey would think it the best money that was ever laid out. New England does not know the unspeakable happyness they will Have by this Change, nor shall they ever know it from me, because if a certain Gentleman here does cut my throat (as he threatens) He shall have no pretence

[1] The incident here referred to is thus related by Palfrey in his History of New England, vol. iv. pp. 386, 387: "In the hot dispute which arose out of the financial question of the day in Massachusetts, Colonel Burgess was for some reason supposed to be inclined to what was called the *private bank* party, and his appointment was accordingly unwelcome to many of the most important persons in the Province. Their views, urged in England by one of the most active of them, Andrew Belcher of Cambridge, were also maintained by Jeremiah Dummer, the new agent, and by Sir William Ashurst, who, though he had refused the agency, never ceased to interest himself in the affairs of the Province. To Burgess the government of Massachusetts was nothing but a job; and for the considerations of a thousand pounds, furnished by Dummer and Belcher, he agreed to decline the promotion. The choice next fell upon Samuel Shute, also a colonel in the army, a brother of John Shute, afterward Lord Barrington in the peerage of Ireland. . . . Under the same influences, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer was superseded, and his place was given to William Dummer, son-in-law of Governor Dudley, a native of New England, but for some years resident in the parent country." — Eds.

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for it. Otherwise I could tell you such things, which though the danger be over, yet etiam nunc meminisse horret animus. If your Secretry comes over (to whom the King's leave is gone by the last ships) pray tell me who is the fittest man for the Post among you, seeing you are resolved not to accept it yourself. I have paid my duty in a letter to Capt. Belcher, & pray you 'l please to renew it to him when you receive this. Please to accept some news

from your faithful & obed^{t} serv^{t}

JER. DUMMER.

WHITEHALL, 9th May, 1716.

MR. WHITE.

[Written on the second page of the letter.]

This page is left blank by mistake, & I must make my Postscript here to tell you that I was fond of having Cap^{t} Belcher be the second man in his Countrey, but Mr. Belcher said his Father would not care for it.

Col. Wm. Dudley will be restored to his place.

Mr. S. F. MCCLEARY presented lists of the boys attending the North and South Writing Schools in 1755. These lists, he said, are interesting, as they exhibit the names of the families residing on the peninsula at that date, which precedes the publication of the first Directory of Boston by thirty-four years. Moreover, these boys of '55 became the men of '75; and among them are the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of some of the present inhabitants of Boston and vicinity.

The North Writing School was built on Love Lane in 1718, at the expense of Thomas and Edward Hutchinson, executors of the will of John Foster. The master in 1755 was Zecheriah Hicks, the immediate predecessor of his famous usher John Tileston, in honor of whom the name of Love Lane was changed to Tileston Street. Master Hicks died in 1761, and was buried in the Copp's Hill ground. Abia Holbrook was the master of the South Writing School in 1755. The schoolhouse stood on the portion of the Common which extended to what is now Mason Street, and it was built in 1718. On the rear it adjoined the premises of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company's gun-house. In 1768, when Governor Gage seized the provincial stores and disarmed the inhabitants of Boston, Adino Paddock, the commander of the artillery company, undertook to surrender to Gage the two brass

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field-pieces which the company had recei
year previous. But Nathaniel Langdon
on the list of boys at the North Writi
with others of the company, removed th
Holbrook's schoolhouse, where they w
cealed and were afterwards used in the
ter Holbrook died in 1769, and was bu
ground.

The paper on which these scholars' n
much discolored by time; but the ink is
put on yesterday, while the penmanship
elegance.

The consideration of the Report on
By-Laws of the Society, which had be
R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and Dr. Deane, was
next meeting.

Mr. LORD announced that he had
the late Williams Latham, which he had
prepare.

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William Latham

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAMS LATHAM, A.B.

BY ARTHUR LORD.

WILLIAMS LATHAM was born in the town of East Bridgewater Nov. 4, 1803. His father was Galen Latham, a direct descendant from Robert Latham, the first of that numerous family of Latham well known in the history of the Old Colony. Robert Latham was a constable of the town of Marshfield during the first years of its settlement, — a man of importance and substance. He married Susannah Winslow, niece of Gov. Edward Winslow, and daughter of John Winslow and Mary Chilton, of "Mayflower" fame.

From Bridgewater Academy, where he was fitted for college, Williams Latham entered Brown University in 1823, and was graduated there in the Class of 1827. After graduation he became a student at law in the office of Zachariah Eddy. — then one of the most eminent lawyers in Southeastern Massachusetts, and of whose skill and learning traditions still linger in that section. He remained in Middleborough in Mr. Eddy's office, pursuing his studies for three years; and in 1830, at the August term of the Court of Common Pleas at Plymouth, was admitted to the bar. Soon afterward he opened an office in the town of Bridgewater, and there lived, engaged in the practice of his profession, until his death, Nov. 6, 1883.

There was little of general interest in his long professional life, covering half a century. Public office had few attractions for him; and it was rarely that he laid aside the engrossing duties of his profession to take any part in political affairs. Without any of the special gifts which bring distinction as

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an advocate, he mainly left the arguing of the important causes with which he was connected in his professional practice to his associates, and devoted himself to that careful, methodical, and exhaustive preparation of the causes intrusted to him which made his services of great value in the complicated and difficult questions arising in actions involving the title to real estate or the settlement of a pauper under the earlier law. Perhaps his largest practice was in equity and real estate, in regard to which his opinion was most widely sought. He was a laborious, painstaking, exact lawyer, loving the dry details of a real action, and revelling in the antiquated and involved proceedings in the equity causes of his time. His special fondness for antiquarian research and genealogical studies well fitted him for those departments of his profession in which he attained distinction. The implicit confidence in his honesty and integrity which was cherished by all who knew him brought to him a great deal of business in the settlement of estates and as a trustee. The people in his neighborhood intrusted him with their hard-earned savings for investment, and felt more secure with Williams Latham's receipt than with the deposit book of any savings-bank.

There was a native quaintness and bluntness in his speech, which rarely gave offence, and which had much attraction to those who knew him well. It was so direct, so sincere and honest, that it impressed every one with confidence in his sturdy qualities and honorable character. There was no member of the bar more generally respected, none who had a deeper hold on the confidence of the community. No one ever questioned his perfect integrity, or believed him capable of any meanness or wrong-doing. The life of a lawyer engaged in a busy office-practice in a country town is of necessity a quiet and uneventful one; but to a mind constituted as his it had its rich rewards in the esteem of his friends and neighbors, in the pleasure of his daily work, in the improvement of those opportunities for study and antiquarian research which that work brings.

Early in his professional life he began to make a collection of the early plans and maps of towns and woodlands, of grants and purchases in his county. Each title he examined brought an addition to his store, each case increased its volume, until at his death he had the largest and most valua-

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ble collection of ancient plans which had ever been acquired in the county; and its value to the examiner and lawyer cannot easily be overestimated. It was the work of fifty years, and in his will he especially devised it to the county of Plymouth to be forever kept in the Registry of Deeds, where it will long remain as a monument of painstaking industry, and as a help to every one whose business or interest may lead him to an examination of its antique contents.

While he had little taste for public life, he was by no means deficient in public spirit. The long lines of beautiful trees which adorn and shade the streets of Bridgewater, and which were set out largely by his own hands, will long bear witness to his interest in the improvement of the town which he had made his home. He served often as town auditor, and was for many years an officer of the Plymouth County Agricultural Society, interested in its welfare, and devoting himself to the promotion of its growth and prosperity.

But perhaps his special claim to our remembrance was as a zealous antiquarian and student in the genealogy and history of the Old Colony. With the possible exception of the late Ellis Ames, no one surpassed him in the extent of his curious information and familiarity with the minutest details of the early history of his native county. It amounted with him almost to a passion. No labor was too great, no time too valuable, if by its use he could determine some disputed point of local history or supply the missing link in the chain of title or descent. He had been also a diligent student of Indian history, and had given much attention to the meaning and origin of Indian names.

His membership in this Society began in the year 1859, and for nearly a quarter of a century he was a frequent attendant at our meetings. His contributions to the Proceedings were not numerous; but his aid was frequently sought in the investigation of those subjects in which he was specially versed, and that aid was freely rendered. He was a member of the Publishing Committee in 1860, and was a frequent donor of books and pamphlets to the Library. His interest in the Society he evidenced by a bequest in his will, "for such purposes as said Society may determine," of one thousand dollars, "and also all my singing-books." These singing-books, as he termed them, were a large collection of ancient

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music, which he had gathered during his long life, and are of value to every antiquarian and lover of music.

In 1882 he published at his own expense a complete list of all the epitaphs in the old graveyards in West Bridgewater and East Bridgewater, entitled "Epitaphs in Old Bridgewater, Massachusetts, by Williams Latham. Illustrated with Plans and Views. Bridgewater, Mass., 1882." This is a book of two hundred and fifty pages, and contains about twenty-five hundred epitaphs, with full plans of the ten old graveyards and a historical sketch of them. Each stone in the yards is located and numbered on the plan, and each epitaph carefully copied and indexed. The permanent preservation of the inscriptions and the identification of each grave in those ancient burial-places is thus assured to posterity by his patient and laborious efforts.

During the last years of his life he withdrew largely from the active practice of his profession, and devoted himself to the care of his property, and to the numerous trust estates whose management was committed to him. He died, after a short illness, on Nov. 6, 1883, leaving a widow, Lydia T. Latham, daughter of Abiezer Alger, of West Bridgewater, and no children.

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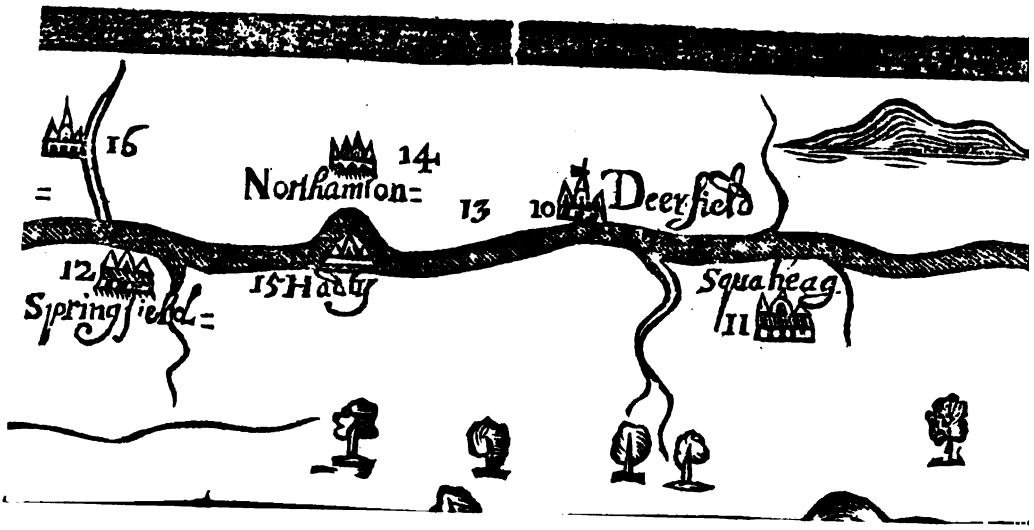

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NOVEMBER MEETING, 1888.

THE meeting this month was held on Thursday, the 8th instant; and the Rev. Dr. ELLIS presided.

The record of the preceding meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The names of the donors to the Library were submitted by the Librarian.

Mr. WINSOR, in behalf of the Committee which had been appointed to consider a communication with reference to a proposed commemoration of the Inauguration of Washington, in New York City in 1889, recommended that no action be taken by this Society, inasmuch as the State authorities can be or have been directly approached in regard to the matter.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks on the copy of a Map of New England, which he exhibited, and which appeared originally in Hubbard's Narrative: —

Among the earliest books issued from the press of John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston, was "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England," by William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich, — now a book of great rarity. It was printed in the early part of the year 1677, and soon afterward was republished in London. Many of the facts were obtained by the author from persons who "were present in the particular Actions"; and for various other reasons the work is highly valued by American scholars. Though inaccurate in some respects, the Narrative has so prominent a place among original historical authorities that it can never be superseded. Just before the text are thirty-four poetical lines addressed "To the Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard* on his most exact History of *New-Englands Troubles*," signed "J. S.," and supposed to be by Jeremiah Shepard, then living at Rowley, which are followed by thirty-eight more, "Upon the elaborate *Survey* of *New-Englands* Passions from the Natives

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by the impartial *Pen* of that worthy *Divine* Mr. William Hubbard," signed "B. T.," who was Benjamin Tompson, the earliest native American poet.

The book contains a Map of New England, which is full of interest as being the first one ever cut in this country. It was engraved for the work, and, as might have been expected, was very crude in its execution and inaccurate in its details. Unlike the common way of showing the cardinal points, the top of the map represents the West, and the bottom represents the East. There are two heavy lines drawn up and down (East and West), which are intended to mark the boundaries of the Massachusetts Colony. The charter, it will be remembered, gave the Company all the land lying between a parallel three miles south of any part of the Charles River, and a similar parallel three miles north of the Merrimack River; and these lines were supposed to bound this territory. The engraver, who evidently was not used to the relation of distances, included a considerable part of Plymouth Colony within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and even the town of Plymouth was brought within the limits of the Bay Colony. In order to remedy this defect and restore the territory to the rightful owners he drew a lighter line from Scituate to Medfield, as a concession to the Old Colony.

During the past twenty years this map has been the subject of considerable research on the part of a few bibliographical students, who have in some instances printed the result of their investigations. I now purpose to make a few remarks supplementary to the valuable notes on the same subject, presented by Dr. Deane, at the last November meeting of the Society.

Two years ago I procured from Mr. George E. Littlefield, the antiquarian bookseller in Cornhill, this copy of the "Wine Hills" map. He had found it in an imperfect copy of William Wood's "New Englands Prospect" (London, 1635), where it had been inserted in the place of another. Mr. Littlefield's practised eye at once detected it as the original map of Hubbard's Narrative, — which was printed more than forty years after Wood's little book, — and I accordingly bought it. The title, in the upper right-hand corner, runs thus, line for line: —

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A MAP OF
NEW-ENGLAND,

Being the firſt that ever was here cut, and done by the beſt Pattern that could be had which being in ſome places defective, it made the other leſs exact: yet doth it ſufficiently ſhew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the diſtance of Places.

The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to diſtinguiſh ſuch as have been aſſaulted by the *Indians* from others.

The dimensions of the map are $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $15\frac{1}{8}$ inches, including a border of a quarter of an inch in width or perhaps a trifle less. It was, without doubt, inserted in the volume so that it would face the unnumbered page immediately after page 132, which begins, "A Table shewing the Towns and places," etc. I have never yet seen a copy of the Boston edition of this book in good order and in the original binding; but most other copies, on a careful examination, still show traces of the map at the page indicated above. Furthermore, there is no catchword at the bottom of page 132, which furnishes another reason for believing that a blank page or a map belongs in that place. This statement does not apply to the London edition, where the map was probably inserted before the titlepage. I have seen a copy of the English edition, apparently in its original condition, so far as the map is concerned, and that had a "Wine Hills" map at the beginning of the book.

Dr. Deane, in his Notes, has shown conclusively that the "White Hills" map was printed after the "Wine Hills" map and from a separate wood-cut. It was also a trifle larger, perhaps a third of an inch, both in length and width; and instead of a single border line around the edge, it has two lines, of which the outer line is considerably broader than the inner one. This map is of extreme rarity; and I have never seen but two copies,—one copy now in the Lenox Library, and the other, somewhat imperfect, which was given to the Historical Society in the summer of 1800, by the Rev. Isaac Mansfield, minister of Marblehead. The letter accompanying

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the gift is still preserved among the files of the Corresponding Secretary (Vol. V.), and is of sufficient interest to be read with these remarks, as follows: —

MARBLEHEAD July 1-1800

SIR, — Samuel Cheever, graduated 1659, was the first Minister in this Town. His Son Amos Cheever (my Grandfather) graduated 1707 was the first Minister in Manchester.

The enclosed Map passed from Samuel Cheever to Amos Cheever, and thence *gradatim* to me; in the Interim it was copied by the Grandfather of the present Col. Lee of this Town, who was about & after that time a respectable Parishioner of Amos Cheever.

Col. Lee observing my curiosity, has been so kind as to compliment me with his Grandfathers copy; which is to me a luxurious gratification: by which means I am accommodated with a duplicate.

The enclosed being the original & probably the first impression of the kind that was ever made from a wooden (not a *copper*) plate, I feel disposed to deposit in the archives of the historical Society.

If it may be considered as acceptable I shall not only submit the same, but flatter myself with *an Idea* of being considered by them as a Friend to the Arts & Sciences in their infantile & progressive Stages

ISAAC MANSFIELD

Please to excuse the porch being so out of proportion with the house; I do not profess to be engaged in the Theory of Architecture.

To The Revd Dr. JOHN ELIOTT, Corresponding Secretary to the Historical Society, &c.

This copy, until it was re-backed more than seven years ago, was glued to a piece of thin board, which was cracked in several places, but held together by two cleats, one at each end. It was considerably torn and otherwise in bad condition, and many fragments were missing, though presumably at the time of the gift it was in better order. In the spring of 1881 the map was taken off of the old back, piece by piece, mounted on crayon paper, and placed in a frame; but during the process it suffered from the change. Parts were transposed, and in this way the dimensions somewhat increased; so much so that, according to the measurements, it seems to have been struck from another block. With no other copy to serve as a guide, the reparation was, perhaps, as successful as might have been expected under the existing circumstances.

In the justification of its lines the title of the "White

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Hills" map varies a little from that of the "Wine Hills" one, as well as the cut of type used in the word "New-England"; and it reads as follows, line for line: —

A MAP OF
NEW-ENGLAND,

Being the firſt that ever was here cut, and done by the beſt Pattern that could be had which being in ſome places defective, it made the other leſs exact: yet doth it ſufficiently ſhew the Scituation of the Country, and conveniently well the diſtance of Places.

The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to diſtinguiſh ſuch as have been aſſaulted by the Indians from others.

There is no reason to doubt the fact that both these woodcuts were made here, as is stated in the title, and that the impressions were struck off in Foster's printing-office. The types for the title were mortised in the block, and they correspond exactly with fonts then in use by Foster, as a comparison of Hubbard's Narrative, Mather's Brief History (Boston, 1676), and other books bearing his imprint will show.

Unfortunately neither the designer nor the engraver of the map is now known positively, and its origin is left to conjecture. There is some reason for supposing that it was prepared by the author of the Narrative and engraved by the printer. It was made with special reference to the towns which were assaulted by the Indians during the previous year, and was adapted to the text in the "Table." Who could do this so well as Mr. Hubbard? Mr. Tompson, in his poetical lines already referred to, alludes to "thy new Map," which might mean the map made under Hubbard's direction and supervision.

It is a matter of history that John Foster was an engraver as well as a printer, though probably his business as such was very limited. He died so young, — at the early age of thirty-two years, — that he scarcely had an opportunity to reach any distinction in this branch of art. In James Blake's

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Annals of Dorchester (Boston, 1846), under the year 1681, it is recorded: —

> This year Died Mr. John Foster, Son of Capt. Hopestill Foster; School-master of Dorchester, and he that made the then Seal or Arms of y^e^ Colony, namely an Indian with a Bow & Arrow &c. (Page 29.)

It is known that the origin of the Colonial seal dates back to the earliest days of the Charter, so that this allusion must be to the engraver, and not to the designer. The annalist probably referred to the wood-cut impression of the "Seal or Arms of y^e^ Colony" which appears in Increase Mather's "Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England" (page 15), printed by Foster only a few months before the publication of Hubbard's Narrative. The cut was undoubtedly used in order to give an official appearance or character to the various papers and documents printed for the Colonial authorities. It is of rude workmanship, but displays, perhaps, a little more artistic skill than is shown by the engraver of the map.

Mr. Blake was born at Dorchester, on April 30, 1688, and died on Dec. 4, 1750; and of course he was familiar with all the local traditions of the town. His Annals were not published, however, until nearly a century after his death.

The late John Allen Lewis, in writing of the printer, says:

> It has been for some years one of my desires to prepare an acceptable memoir of John Foster, and to that end I have preserved everything that was purchasable coming from his press, and every item referring to him. After a while I came to look upon Foster as one of the great men of that great age, — a scholar, a thinker, a printer, engraver, chemist, — a man worthy of the love, friendship, and admiration of the Mathers. Had Foster lived to the age that Franklin reached, Franklin might have been called a "second Foster." (Sibley's Harvard Graduates, II. 226.)

At the time of Foster's death in Dorchester, on Sept. 9, 1681, a funeral elegy was composed by his friend, Thomas Tileston, and dedicated to his memory. In these verses the author speaks of him as "a cunning Artist," and refers to "his accurate Geography." I am inclined to think that these allusions are to the engraver and the map. In the inventory of

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Foster's estate, dated Oct. 5, 1681, his "carueing tools" — which could be no other than engraver's tools — and also "his cuts & coollors" are mentioned. What "coollors" or colors are referred to, I do not know, but evidently the "cuts" were his engraved blocks. During the night of Sept. 16, 1690, nine years after his death, a printing-office in Boston was burned,[1] which was the one that belonged probably to his lineal, though not immediate, successor in business; and thus, perhaps, disappeared the last vestige of his handicraft with these "carueing tools."

It has been a subject of some interest at what particular period of the year Hubbard's Narrative first appeared in Boston. By itself the matter is of little importance, but the question is connected with certain other collateral ones. It has been assumed that this edition of the work was set up after the date of the Colonial license, which is probably not the fact. The book was printed, though perhaps only the first part, and circulated before March 19, 1676–7. Under this date John Cotton writes from Plymouth to Increase Mather, as follows:

> I could have desired to have kept your booke a few days longer, whereby it might have bin filled with marginal notes of Erratas. Our Gov^r & Magistrat[es] had some cursory perusall of the booke, the mistakes are Judged to be many more than the truths in it. Our Gov^r & Mag's doe affirm that Alexander was got home before he dyed.[2]

By the light of subsequent letters, it is certain that the book here referred to was Hubbard's Narrative; and it is equally clear that it was not in manuscript, though it may have been an advance copy. This free expression of opinion by Cotton caused some hard feeling toward him on the part of Hubbard, and occasioned a sharp correspondence. The author of the Narrative was desirous to obtain from the Plymouth authorities an approval of his work, similar to that given by the Colony of Massachusetts, but the wish was not gratified.

I am aware that the date "April, 1677," appears in the text of the first part, near the end, which at first sight would indicate that the book was printed after that time; but a double-leaded space immediately before this date, in connection with the foregoing facts, leaves it a fair inference that

[1] Historical Magazine, I. 229.
[2] Collections, fourth series, VIII. 232.

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these few lines were added after the main portion of the first part had appeared.

In the Boston edition of the Narrative are two lists of *Errata*, — one of them appearing near the beginning of the book, and the other at the end. In the London edition there is no similar list, though the corrections for the most part have been duly made, which shows that the English printers had the benefit of them both.

Dr. DEANE then spoke as follows: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — I wish to place in the Library some additional "Belknap Papers," committed to my charge for that purpose by Mrs. Jules Marcou, — the granddaughter and biographer of Dr. Belknap, — who has already made similar gifts. The papers, the greater part of them, relate to the difficulties which existed between Dr. Belknap and the parish in Dover, New Hampshire, over which he was settled, in regard to the payment of his salary. His ministry there, beginning in 1767, covered the whole period of the Revolutionary War, during which the currency in which payments were made became worthless, and the parish showed no disposition to make good his loss or to pay his small salary according to agreement. The condition of himself and his family was desperate. These papers tell the whole story. In one of his letters to the parish, dated Dec. 11, 1781, he writes: "Since I lived in this town I never was reduced so low at this season of the year, nor so destitute of the common necessaries of life as now. Have you any intention to provide me with the necessary means of subsistence, or do you design to wear out my patience and reduce me to despair?" Among these papers is the "copy of an address delivered from the pulpit on the Lord's Day, August 4, 1782," in which he gives his hearers a history of the treatment he had received at the hands of his people from the beginning. "These troubles," says his biographer, "kept his mind in perpetual agitation until the final decision to leave Dover in September, 1786. . . . He bore his trials with Christian fortitude. He did not speak harshly of those who had shown themselves so unworthy; very few of his friends were made acquainted with his difficulties, and even to his own children, then and in after years, he was always silent on the subject. A narrative of his efforts during

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four years to obtain compliance with a contract made by unanimous consent, and of the evasions and procrastinations by which those efforts were defeated, was written by Dr. Belknap, and is still in existence; but it may be passed over in silence, as it relates to the actions of a generation that sleep with their fathers, and a better instructed people now occupy their places, some of whom have shown a respectful remembrance of his name."

The transferrence of his pastoral relations to the church in Long Lane (now Federal Street), Boston, in the early part of 1787, restored Dr. Belknap to the more congenial society of his native town, and opened for him a wider field of usefulness; and in 1790 he projected the establishment of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Concerning these papers, which include several relating to the church as distinguished from the parish, Mrs. Marcou had some doubts as to the disposition she ought to make of them. They relate to an experience concerning which Dr. Belknap himself always preserved silence. Should the papers be preserved in a cabinet of the Historical Society founded by him, or should they be destroyed? On reflecting, finally, that Dr. Belknap had carefully labelled and filed these papers himself, and transmitted them to his descendants, instead of destroying them with his own hand, Mrs. Marcou felt that a willingness was herein implied that the papers should be preserved; and she accordingly gives them to the Society. I move that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mrs. Marcou for the gift.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. WINSOR said: —

There is among the papers of B. W. Crowninshield, Madison's Secretary of the Navy, which have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Boston, a letter written by Commodore Rodgers, Feb. 11, 1815, to Secretary Crowninshield, characterizing the leading officers of the navy at this time. He says: —

"Commodore Murray, although an amiable old gentleman, has not been regularly bred to the profession of a seaman; his pretensions, therefore, as a navy officer are of a very limited description. Captain Bainbridge is an excellent officer, uniting much practice with considerable theory; he is also industrious, and if there is any objection to him,

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it is because he feels the importance of his own abilities too sensibly to qualify him as well as he otherwise would be for a subordinate situation. Captain Campbell is a good old gentleman, but is fond of novelty, and at the same time an enemy to everything that is likely to call the reflections of his mind into operation. Captains Decatur, Stewart, Warrington, and Blakely being at sea, I feel it unnecessary to say anything concerning their pretensions [the question was as to fitness for shore duty]. Captain Chauncey is an excellent officer, but I consider him better qualified for a command at sea. Captain Shaw, although an amiable man, is by no means qualified for anything requiring the exercise of more than an ordinary share of intellect. Captain Porter is a man of far more than ordinary natural talents, indefatigable in whatever he undertakes; and added to these, his acquirements, professional as well as more immediately scientific, are respectable. Captain Dent, although his opportunities of gaining professional knowledge have been considerable, nevertheless wants stability of character. Captain Gordon is a good seaman, and qualified for a command at sea; but his opinions are too flexible to qualify him. Captain Perry, as you well know, is a good officer; but I do not believe he has ever paid so much attention to naval science as to qualify him for such a situation. Captain McDonough is an officer of similar merit. Captain Morris is a man of strong discriminating mind, of considerable science, and unites perhaps as much, if not more, theoretical and practical knowledge than any man of his age in the service. Captain Jones is a good officer; and though a man of far more than ordinary general information, he does not possess the particular kinds to qualify him. Captain Crane is a good seaman and an intelligent man; but he is better qualified to command a ship than anything else. Captain Bainbridge, the *junior*, I do not think qualified for any command, as I have reason to believe him intemperate, and I am induced to mention this that you may be guarded against giving him a command at sea. Captain Hull I had almost forgot to mention. He is nevertheless a man of most amiable disposition; and although he does not pretend to much science, he is an excellent seaman, and at the same time he unites all the most essential qualifications necessary for such a situation. Were I authorized to nominate the three captains to assist in the discharge of the duties of the department, I should name Bainbridge, Hull, and Morris; otherwise, Hull, Porter, and Morris."

The time having been occupied to a large extent with private business, the consideration of the revision of the By-Laws was postponed to the next meeting.

A memoir of the late Henry Morris, which had been prepared by Professor Perry, was communicated to the Society by Dr. Green.

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MEMOIR

OF

HENRY MORRIS, LL.D.

BY ARTHUR L. PERRY.

Our late associate, Henry Morris, of Springfield, died in that city June 4, 1888. The house in which he died on Maple Street was next to the house in which he was born in 1814, and he had occupied it almost a complete half-century, and in it in 1887 he and his wife very quietly celebrated their golden-wedding anniversary. He spent his entire life in Springfield, excepting his undergraduate years at Amherst, where he took his degree in 1832.

The tastes and habits of the son were largely formed under the inspiring influence and example of his father, Oliver Bliss Morris. The latter was graduated at Williamstown in 1801; and during a long life, ending in 1871 in his ninetieth year, besides frequent visits to the College at its Commencement-time, he was never weary of speaking to his children and others of the beauty of the town and region where he had been educated. His home was long a centre of legal and historical associations, in which the Blisses and Ashmuns and Pynchons and Warriners, and other honored names of the time participated, and which were to other young men besides the subject of this brief memoir an educating and invigorating influence.

The elder Morris became remarkable as a local historian, and kept gathering throughout his life a mass of historical data, much of which he used himself in interesting essays and addresses, showing local research of the first order, and much of which he transmitted to his son, together with a fondness for such researches and for such literary use of them. In May, 1836, the town of Springfield celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of its founding, and Morris, the father,

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delivered the historical oration on that memorable occasion, and a notable address it was; while Morris, the son, became the historical essayist rather than orator at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation, in May, 1886.

From contemporaneous and other records collected by his father and by himself, Henry Morris published a fascinating story of the burning of Springfield by the Indians during King Philip's war, in October, 1675; and from similar sources he prepared several important papers for the meetings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders. The opportunities already referred to of acquaintance with and of hearing the older traditions from the local landmarks of the generation preceding his own, and the mass of historical materials in his possession, naturally gave occasion to his fellow-townsmen to conclude that he would undertake and complete an exhaustive and satisfactory history of Springfield. He seemed to them a well-formed link connecting the past with the present. No one seemed to be so well equipped as he to accomplish this interesting task. It was known that he had contemplated it; it was known that he had hoped to accomplish it; it was believed that certain preliminaries had been successfully gone through with; and his townsmen have keenly regretted, as well as other contemporaries, that he was not given the energy and persistence to perform the task, towards which he was constantly drawn, and from which he shrank back as often as it made its appeal to him.

It may be that here was an inherent weakness in his character, — a weakness that became more manifest as old age drew on, and as troubles of another kind somewhat beclouded the latter half of his active life. It is certain that he never seemed to his fellows to accomplish so much as his natural gifts and assiduous training gave abundant promise of. He published, however, a well-received history of the First Church in Springfield, of which he himself became a member soon after leaving college, and in which he was efficient in other offices, and as a deacon for many years. His wife's father, Col. Solomon Warriner, was the famous old-time and long-time leader of the choir in the First Church. The marriage of Henry Morris and Mary Warriner took place May 16, 1837. She survives him, living still in the old house, with children

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and grandchildren. The gentleness and beauty of his Christian character were remarkably exemplified in his family and in a very large circle of relatives and acquaintances.

Oliver Bliss Morris was also a lawyer and a judge, and he passed over to Henry Morris legal and judicial qualities of no mean rank. The son was admitted to the bar in 1835, after three years' study in the law-office of the father. His classmate, Otis P. Lord, came with him from Amherst to Springfield; they read in the same office, and were admitted at the same time. There were giants in those days at the Hampden bar, such as Ashmun, Chapman, Bates, and Beach; yet these two young men, nothing daunted, entered into the *densissima umbra* of these great reputations, and made a manful fight for a share of the business and emoluments in those noted courts. Young Morris came into ripe manhood surrounded by these masterful examples and influences, and gradually displayed unusual judicial traits rather than quickness and brilliancy as a pleader. It is still remembered in Springfield that in a criminal case in which he was junior counsel with George Ashmun, Morris talked agreeably and convincingly to the jury for three hours, and this when he was but twenty-six years old.

It was, however, rather his judicial mind and his comprehensive knowledge of the law that made his reputation such that in 1855 he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He had not sought the place, was not sure that he should like it, and quitted reluctantly the now lucrative practice at the bar. But the bench proved very agreeable to him. He liked its duties and opportunities, and his judicial conduct gave universal satisfaction. Politics nevertheless soon crept into his judicial garden, like the serpent into Eden. Four years after his appointment the Legislature abolished the Common Pleas, and substituted the present Superior Court. Judge Morris was assured by Governor Banks that he should certainly have a place in the new court; but political reasons, which probably the Governor himself could not control, did not permit the re-appointment of any of the old justices.

The manifestations of regard and admiration for Judge Morris after he had thus been legislated out of an office for which he was peculiarly fitted, the resolutions and addresses not only in the Connecticut Valley but also in other parts of the

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Commonwealth, were but a slight emollient for his deep disappointment and chagrin. He was never afterwards just the man he was before. Most of his old clients of course had gone over to other lawyers during his four years of judicial service. Doubtless also there was some lack of push and energy in picking up again the threads of business that had been dropped. Some failure of physical powers and the beginnings of the disease of which he died, conspired at about the same time to relax the sinews of vigorous effort, and to give an injurious impression that his career was mostly over. Still he continued to practise in the courts more or less until within a few years of his death. The present writer saw him in the court-room at Pittsfield about 1873, in the trial of a cause that came up in Southern Berkshire, in which David Dudley Field was one of the parties. He was Mr. Field's counsel and attorney. His conduct of the case then seemed to the writer to be somewhat languid; but Mr. Field remarked to him to the contrary, and observed that he had taken his pick among the lawyers of Western Massachusetts.

Amherst College conferred upon Judge Morris the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1869. He was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on March 9, 1882; but the weight of years and other cares came in to prevent his attendance on our meetings, and any active participation in our work.

And so the earthly curtain drops upon a worthy man, an excellent citizen, and a humble Christian.

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1888.

THE usual monthly meeting was held on the 13th instant, and was called to order by the Rev. Dr. ELLIS.

After the Recording Secretary had read his notes of the previous meeting, and the Librarian had reported the recent gifts to the Library, the PRESIDENT said: —

This Society has its share with many circles in our community in recognizing the loss from its fellowship of Mr. William Amory, who died at his home in this city on the 8th of this month. He was in the closing half of the eighty-fifth year of his life. For the last twelve of these he had been withdrawn from business interests of exacting responsibility, and for the last four of them had been mainly in the retirement of his home from increasing infirmities, cheered by the ever welcome visits and intercourse of abounding friends, and by continuing through the help of readers his life-long acquaintance with the best products of the press. They were few among his visitors who had the start of him in knowledge of what was in a good book. He had been educated in college, in offices, and by study here and in Europe, for the profession of the law, but did not enter upon its practice.

The warm and grateful tributes which have followed his decease have assigned to him the regards, so highly esteemed in this good city, as due only to the most able and honored managers of great mercantile trusts, sagacious, prudent, and of rigid integrity. Such he was in his multiplied business relations. What more he was in broad and fine culture of mind and taste, and in the most attractive social accomplishments, has been fondly appreciated by his associates of two generations. In our own Society he belonged to that section of members who, precluded by engrossing cares from using researches and pen for historical productions, had the keenest interest in and appreciation of the fruits of such labors of his associates. His large and choice library, to which he gave the

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time of his leisure and rest, was complete in all the departments of historical, biographical, and general literature. He fostered all generous enterprises. The grace, urbanity, and refinement of his manners gave a charm to intercourse with him.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP followed with these words: —

It was quite uncertain, Mr. President, until the last moment, whether I should be able to be here this afternoon. Being here, however, I cannot be wholly silent in regard to the valued associate and friend whose funeral so many of us attended on Monday last, and whose death you have just announced. I should be sorry not to have said a parting word about one to whom I had so warm an attachment. But I am conscious that my faculty for formal tributes, if I have had any, has been exhausted here and elsewhere, and I can say nothing now which has not already been better said in the public journals or by yourself.

Mr. Amory will be longest remembered in our community as a most faithful and successful man of business, in connection with several of our largest manufacturing companies; and his name has been given to one of them, which was the immediate result of his own devoted management. But it is ours to remember him as a refined and cultivated gentleman, — amiable, hospitable, liberal, of a singularly happy and genial temperament, who endeared himself to all who were brought into relations with him. Charming in conversation, an untiring reader, by the eyes of others when his own eyes began to fail him, he had one of those retentive memories which enabled him to recall and discuss whatever he read, or whatever was read to him, with discrimination and accuracy.

The son-in-law of one of our former associates and benefactors, the Hon. David Sears; the favorite brother-in-law of the historian Prescott; the intimate friend of the historian Motley, — he had peculiar ties to our Society before he himself became a member of it. But from the first day of his membership, sixteen or seventeen years ago, to the end of his life, he lost no opportunity to exhibit his interest in our work and his pleasure in being associated with the workers. To him, as one of Prescott's executors, we owe, in part, "the Crossed

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Swords" which hang over yonder folding-doors, and the Prescott manuscripts and noctograph, which are among the treasures of our Cabinet. Few of our members have been more constant and punctual in their attendance at our stated meetings, and we have repeatedly enjoyed his hospitality in social meetings under his own roof. I think that few things would have gratified him more than to know that his name would be kindly mentioned in these Historical halls at this first meeting since his death. Had he died a few years earlier, we should all have felt it as a personal bereavement, as, indeed, I can hardly help feeling it to-day. But death was at last a welcome release to him. He bore the weariness of a lingering decline with patience and sweetness, looking forward and upward with hope and faith.

Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES then paid an appreciative tribute to his friend, speaking of his inherited qualities, reviewing his career from the time when he entered school and college, and mentioning the attractive traits of his character.

Mr. YOUNG said that he had been indebted to Mr. Amory for the particulars relating to the rebellion in Harvard College in 1823, which are narrated in "The Harvard Book" (vol. ii. pp. 129–131); and Mr. PERKINS recalled some pleasant reminiscences connected with Mr. Amory. The Society then voted to place upon its records a testimonial of their regret and respect in view of the loss of their valued associate.

The Report on the Revision of the By-Laws, which had been prepared by Dr. Deane and Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr. (pp. 120–123), was then taken up; and, Mr. Winthrop having explained the reasons for the changes proposed by the Committee, all the amendments were adopted after the passage of the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That the Society approves the recommendation of the Committee that Resident Members be hereafter elected from among citizens of Massachusetts who habitually reside some considerable part of each year within this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the Society approves the recommendation of the Committee that the contingent forfeiture attached to Resident Membership be made to depend, as it formerly did, upon removal from the State, liberal allowance being made for temporary or official absence.

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Resolved, That the Society approves the recommendation that Corresponding Members may hereafter be elected from among persons residing in other States or countries without regard to citizenship; provided that such Corresponding Membership shall cease if they become both citizens and inhabitants of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Society approves the recommendation that the number of Corresponding Members shall never exceed the number of Resident Members, and that the number of Honorary Members shall be limited to twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries.

Dr. Deane spoke of the "old ship" which was discovered on Nawset Beach, on the east side of Cape Cod, in 1863, and was exhibited on Boston Common in the autumn of 1865, and noticed in the Proceedings of this Society for October of that year; and said: —

I have been frequently asked what has become of this relic, — a question I have not hitherto been able to answer. I understood that it had been taken to Providence for exhibition when it left Boston, but had heard nothing from it since. A few days ago, however, I received a letter from the present owner of the relic, Mr. Charles W. Livermore, dated Providence, Dec. 2, 1888, in which he writes: —

"You will no doubt remember 'Ye Ancient Wrecke' which was exhibited on Boston Common in the fall of 1865. I was at that time a member of the Boston Common Council, and obtained permission of the Mayor to place it there, so that it might be easily examined by the antiquaries of the State. Yourself and many others took much interest in it at that time: and I believe it was through your influence I was presented with a copy of Bradford's 'History of Plymouth Plantation' by the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contains, on page 217, an account of the wreck.

"I still own the old wreck, and being much broken in health am desirous of finding the most suitable *permanent* resting-place for it while I am able to attend to it.

"The wreck is no doubt the oldest example of ancient ship-building to be seen in this country, and on account of its connection with the early history of the Colony it ought to be preserved.

"I write you at this time to ask you kindly to give me your views as to the most suitable place for it, as I have very little acquaintance

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with the societies of Massachusetts. I enclose a pamphlet [1] published at the time; also a small photographic picture of the ship. I have one or two quite large pictures, but they cannot very well be sent. The small one will recall the wreck to your mind."

Dr. Deane further said: —

I immediately wrote to Mr. Livermore, and told him that I would bring the subject of his letter before the next meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society for their information and judgment; but I expressed to him my private opinion that the proper resting-place for the old ship was Plymouth, and that it should be committed to the care of the Pilgrim Society. There can be no reasonable doubt, I think, that the relic is genuine, and is the remains of the old ship described by Bradford. Its history is associated with Plymouth. The old chronicler describes how the passengers and crew of the wrecked vessel came to Plymouth, and were cared for by the people there till they found shipping for Virginia, whither they were bound. Mr. Livermore, in a subsequent letter, dated December 11, cordially responded to this suggestion, writing as follows: —

"At the close of the exhibition of the old ship on Boston Common in 1865 it was brought to this city; and at the request of several

[1] The pamphlet referred to was entitled "The Ancient Wreck; Loss of the 'Sparrow-Hawk' in 1626. Remarkable Preservation and Recent Discovery of the Wreck. Boston, 1865." This pamphlet gave a history of the discovery of the old ship, and a delineation of its restoration by experienced ship-builders, showing its dimensions, etc. It also gave an account of the casting away of the ship, bound for Virginia, as described by Bradford, with which the old wreck was identified. This pamphlet was issued in three editions, in the second of which the authority is given for calling the vessel the "Sparrow-Hawk." Reference is made to an able and interesting article by Mr. Amos Otis in the N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. for January, 1864, giving an account of the changes which had taken place in the coast-lines and harbors of the eastern shores of Cape Cod since they were visited by the early navigators, and of the finding of the old wreck and its excavation in 1863, and of the tradition that a vessel had been cast away in that neighborhood, and also that she bore the name "Sparrow-Hawk." Mr. Otis speaks of this last as an "uncertain tradition." There is no other authority than this for the name here adopted by the proprietors of the wreck.

This Society has several copies of the pamphlet whose title is given above, — "The Ancient Wreck," — by which it appears that Mr. Leander Crosby, then a well-known resident of Orleans, living in the immediate vicinity of "Old Ship Harbor," was originally associated with Mr. Livermore as a proprietor of the old relic. — C. D.

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friends here, interested in our early history, I set it up in a suitable room, where it was examined by them with much interest. I then packed it away, and it has not been on exhibition since.

"The wreck is all there, just as you saw it in Boston, and can easily be taken out, dusted, and set up in any locality selected for it. An ordinary freight-car would be required for its transportation.

"I have often thought of Plymouth as a final anchorage for the old ship; but as I have never been there myself, and have no acquaintances there, I have been able to learn but little about the place or the Plymouth Society. I am quite willing the wreck shall go there if you think it the best place for it, and shall be pleased to present it to the Society if they will provide a suitable room for it where it can be seen to good advantage by visitors. I ought to say that I am not able to bear the expense attending the removal of the wreck to Plymouth, nor will my health permit me to take the care of its removal. Under these circumstances it seems necessary that the Society should send some suitable person to attend to the matter. I have paid all the original expenses of the rescue of the old ship from the sea, as well as all the cost of its care and protection since that time, which amount to a considerable sum for me. Now, if some individuals or Society are willing to take hold where I find I must leave off, this very interesting relic of 'ye olden time' may be visited by many generations yet to come. I still have the pipes and other things found in the old wreck, including the wooden pump-box, in very good condition considering its great age. I have always kept it under a glass bell. . . .

"I shall be very grateful to you if you will aid me in arranging this matter. Your knowledge of such things enables you to select with good judgment, and your acquaintance will make it easy for you to do what I cannot accomplish myself. I feel interested to have the old ship permanently located while I am here to do what I can towards it. I shall be pleased to have you mention the matter to your Society (the Massachusetts Historical Society), if you think proper."

Dr. Deane continued: —

It will be remembered that Mr. Livermore says that he has preserved the pipes found in the wreck. These were clay pipes for smoking tobacco, I suppose: the bowl very small, and of a curious shape, like an acorn; the aperture small, with a bead around the edge. I happened to be in London the year following the exhibition of this ship in Boston; and at Guildhall, then a great curiosity-shop, I saw a collection of clay pipes, systematically arranged, from the time of Ralph Lane and Raleigh to the time of the reign of William and

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Mary, — thus showing the earliest tobacco-pipes in England. This group was formed by a Mr. Gunston, of Islington, a private collector. I noticed that the earliest pipes were the smallest, and that they gradually increased in size, ending with a pipe nearly the size of those we see to-day. I was particular to notice the pipes made about the beginning of the reign of Charles I., or the time our old ship was cast away on Cape Cod; and there I saw a pipe that appeared as if it was run in the same mould in which those found in the old ship were cast.

The Society, by an informal vote, unanimously expressed their approval of the suggestion as to the final resting-place of the old wreck.

On motion of the Treasurer, Mr. Smith, it was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the past year be retained in the treasury, subject to the order of the Council, for the publication of a volume of Collections.

Professor HAYNES communicated the following paper: —

"Driving a Pin or Nail."

At the meeting of the Society in April last, I read a brief note upon that peculiar habit of Judge Sewall's, of "driving a pin or nail" at the raising of a new meeting-house or other building, which the editors of his Diary say they are unable to explain.[1] I then attempted to trace a similar custom back to ancient times, and suggested that Sewall's familiarity with the classic writers might perhaps furnish an explanation of the practice. Since then I have remarked certain proverbial expressions occurring in the Old Testament, which may equally well be the source from which it originated.

In Ezra ix. 8, we read: "And now for a little moment grace hath been showed from the Lord our God, to leave us a remnant to escape, and to give us a nail in his holy place." So in the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus, xiv. 24: "He that doth lodge near her [*i. e.*, wisdom's] house shall also fasten a pin in her walls." And especially in a passage in Isaiah, xxii. 23–25: "I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and he

[1] Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d ser. vol. iv. p. 101.

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shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house. And they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the issue, every small vessel, from the vessels of cups even to all the vessels of flagons. In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall the nail that was fastened in a sure place give way; and it shall be hewn down and fall, and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off."

For the citations which I will read from certain authorities, which explain the slightly different shades of meaning attaching to the custom among the Hebrews, I am indebted to the courtesy and learning of our Recording Secretary.

Gesenius, in his Lexicon, gives the signification of יָתֵד as "a peg, pin, or nail, driven into the wall; specially a tent-pin, stake, driven into the earth to fasten the tent. Hence to drive a peg, to fasten a nail, *sc.* in the wall, is to the Hebrews an image signifying to render firm, stable. The Arabs also have the same figure." Fürst defines the word as meaning "commonly a peg, nail driven into the wall; a tent-pin, to which a tent is fastened; the fastening being used as an image of stability." As the immobility of the tent depended on the stakes which held it to the earth, these were an apt emblem of strength and security. Accordingly the word *nail*, in Ezra ix. 8, would be equivalent to *a sure abode*. In Zech. x. 4, "From him [the house of Judah] shall come forth the corner-stone, from him the nail," the same word occurs, denoting *the staple*, which holds together the parts of a building; and it is used metaphorically of the nobles and counsellors of the king, who help to uphold the realm. In Isaiah xxii. 23, Eliakim's establishment in office is compared to a *tent-pin* driven into the ground, because it will render the State firm and stable. In the next verse the figure is changed, and he is likened to a *nail* thrust into a wall, on which various articles may be suspended; thereby signifying that all which is valuable to the nation shall rest securely on him. This view is confirmed by Ewald, Delitzsch, Knobel, and others. T. K. Cheyne, in his Commentary (vol. i. p. 132), thus translates the passage: "And I will strike him as a *peg* into a sure place, *i. e.*, into a good, solid wall — not mere plaster, as in an ordinary house — so as to be able to support a large number of vessels (comp. Zech. x. 4, where 'peg' = prince)." In Eccl. xii. 11, it is said that "the words of

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the wise are as goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies." Here a different Hebrew word is used, מַשְׂמְרוֹת, found only in the plural, but with a similar meaning; namely, that the words of wise teachers are like tent-spikes, because they penetrate and sink deep into the mind and remain fixed in the memory.

Sewall was quite as familiar with the Bible as with the Greek and Latin writers, and it is perhaps needless to seek for any other explanation of his custom than may have been thus suggested.

How well the old commentators, whose works he was in the habit of ordering from Mr. John Love, in London,[1] may have explained the meaning of the Hebrew custom, or may have furnished a reason for his practical exemplification of it, I am unable to say.

Cotton Mather, also, seems to refer to the same custom in the title of one of his anonymously printed sermons: "Nails Fastened. Or proposals of piety reasonably and seasonably complyed withal."[2]

[1] See Sewall's Letter-Book, vol. ii. p. 10. In his Diary, vol. ii. p. 52, Sewall writes: "Cousin Moodey of York comes to see me: upon enquiry about a Hebrew word, I found he had no Lexicon; and I gave him my Buxtorf."

[2] See Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. iii. p. 152 (No. 427).

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BY-LAWS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AMENDED IN DECEMBER, 1888.

CHAPTER I.

OF MEMBERS.

ARTICLE 1. — The Resident Members of the Society, who alone are entitled to vote, shall be elected from among citizens of Massachusetts who habitually reside some considerable part of each year within this Commonwealth, and the Society shall be at liberty to transfer their names to its roll of Corresponding Members if they remove from the State; provided, however, that a liberal allowance shall be made for temporary or official absence.

Honorary and Corresponding Members shall be elected from among those persons who reside in other States or countries, and the membership of Corresponding Members shall cease if they become both citizens and permanent residents of this Commonwealth. The number of Corresponding Members shall never exceed the number of Resident Members; and the number of Honorary Members shall never exceed twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries.

ART. 2. — A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any Resident Member of the Society may enter the name of any person whom he may regard as suitable to be nominated as a Resident, Corresponding, or Honorary Member; it being understood that each member is bound in honor not to make known abroad the name of any person either proposed or nominated. But no nomination of any member shall be made except by a report of the Council, at a stated

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meeting of the Society, nor be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported; nor shall more than two candidates for membership, of the same class, be reported at any one meeting.

ART. 3. — All nominations shall be accompanied by a brief statement of the place of residence and qualifications of the person nominated.

ART. 4. — All members shall be elected by ballot; and, in balloting for members, the law and custom of our forefathers shall be observed, by taking the question with Indian corn and beans; the corn expressing *yeas*, and the beans *nays*. But no person shall be deemed chosen, unless there be twenty members present and voting at the election, nor unless three fourths of all the votes are in the affirmative.

ART. 5. — Each Resident Member shall pay twenty-five dollars at the time of his admission, and ten dollars each first of January afterward, into the treasury of the Society, for its general purposes; but any member shall be exempted from the annual payment, if, at any time after his admission, he shall pay into the treasury one hundred and fifty dollars in addition to what he may before have paid; and all commutation fees shall be funded by the Treasurer, and the interest only used for the current expenses of the Society. Each Resident Member shall be entitled to receive a copy of all the regular publications of the Society, issued after his election, without charge; and all members who have paid the commutation fee shall be entitled to the privilege of the Library, and to copies of the publications, for life, even should their membership cease by removal from the State or by resignation.

ART. 6. — If any person elected as a Resident Member shall neglect, for one year after being notified of his election, to pay his admission-fee, his election shall be void; and if any Resident Member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for two years after it shall have become due and his attention shall have been called to this article in the By-laws, he shall cease to be a member; provided, however, it shall be in the power of the Treasurer, with the consent of the President, to dispense (*sub silentio*) with the payment of the assessment, whenever, in any special instance, they may think it advisable to do so. Each person who shall be elected a

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Resident Member shall, when notified of it, be furnished by the Corresponding Secretary with a copy of this Article and the preceding one.

ART. 7. — Diplomas signed by the President, and countersigned by the two Secretaries, shall be issued to all persons who have become members of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

OF MEETINGS.

ART. 1. — There shall be a Regular Meeting of the Society on the second Thursday of every month, at three o'clock P. M., at their rooms in Boston; provided, however, that the Council shall have authority to postpone any such monthly meeting, or to dispense with it altogether, or to direct it to be held at other rooms, or at another hour, whenever, for any cause, they may deem it desirable or expedient. Special meetings shall be called by either of the Secretaries, whenever requested so to do by the President, or, in case of his absence or inability, by one of the Vice-Presidents or by the Council.

ART. 2. — At all meetings, the President shall take the chair in five minutes after the time appointed in the notification; and the record of the preceding meeting shall then be at once read. After which, at all Special Meetings, the special business for which the meeting was called shall be transacted; and, at all Regular Meetings, the order of business shall be as follows: —

First, The Librarian shall make his report.

Second, The Cabinet-keeper shall make his report.

Third, The Corresponding Secretary shall read any communications he may have received.

Fourth, The unfinished business and the assignments of the last meeting shall be taken up in their order.

Fifth, The Council shall be called on to report its doings since the last meeting.

Sixth, Other committees shall be called on for reports.

Seventh, The Society shall then proceed to such matters of business as may be proposed by any member; after which

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members generally shall be invited to make any communications on any subject having relation to the purposes of the Society; and, for the orderly accomplishment of this object, the Society shall be divided into three sections, as nearly equal in numbers as may be, each of which, in regular sequence, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary, that the Society, at the next meeting, will receive from it such communications; and the officer presiding at the next meeting shall call upon members of such section to offer any communication; after which the communication so made may be discussed by the Society generally.

ART. 3. — Fifteen members shall be a quorum for all purposes except the election of members, as hereinbefore provided; and excepting, also, for alterations of the By-laws, which shall not be made unless twenty persons are present, nor unless the subject has either been discussed at a previous meeting, or reported on by a committee appointed for the purpose.

ART. 4. — At the request of any two members present, any subject proposed for discussion shall be once deferred to a subsequent meeting, before it is finally disposed of.

ART. 5. — All committees shall be nominated by the chair, unless otherwise ordered.

CHAPTER III.

OF OFFICERS.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, who shall be, *ex officio*, Chairman of the Council; two Vice-Presidents; a Recording Secretary, who shall also be, *ex officio*, Secretary of the Council; a Corresponding Secretary; a Treasurer; a Librarian; and a Cabinet-keeper, — all of whom shall be chosen by ballot at the monthly meeting in April, and shall hold their respective offices for one year, or until others are duly chosen in their stead. At the same meeting five members shall be chosen (no more than two of whom shall hold their places for more than two successive years) who, with the foregoing officers, shall constitute the Council of the

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Society; which may fix its own quorum, provided that no nomination of members shall be made to which less than seven of its number shall have assented at a meeting of the Council.

At the regular monthly meeting preceding any election of officers, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed, who shall report to the meeting at which the election is to be made a list of members for the places to be filled.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside in all meetings of the Society when present, and, when absent, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the order of their names. In the absence of all these officers, a President *pro tempore* shall be chosen.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. 1. — The Recording Secretary, or, in case of his death or absence, the Corresponding Secretary, shall warn all meetings of the Society, by causing to be sent, through the post-office, to all the Resident Members, notices of each meeting. Notices of the regular meetings shall be issued on the Monday preceding.

ART. 2. — He shall keep an exact record of all the meetings of the Society, with the names of the members present; entering in full all reports of committees that may be accepted by the Society, unless otherwise specially directed, or unless the same are to be included in the printed Proceedings.

See Chap. IX., Art. 6.

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CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. 1. — The Corresponding Secretary shall inform all persons of their election as members of the Society, sending to each a copy of the By-laws, and on their acceptance shall issue the proper diplomas.

ART. 2. — He shall carry on all the correspondence of the Society not otherwise provided for; and deposit copies of the letters sent and the original letters received, in regular files, in the Library.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE TREASURER.

ART. 1. — The Treasurer shall collect all moneys due to the Society, and shall keep regular and faithful accounts of all the moneys and funds of the Society that may come into his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same, — which accounts shall always be open to the inspection of the members; and, at the regular meeting in April, he shall make a written report of all his doings for the year preceding, and of the amount and condition of all the property of the Society intrusted to him. One week before the monthly meeting in April of each year, he shall give notice to every member of any assessment remaining due from him.

ART. 2. — He shall pay no moneys, except on vote of the Society, or of the Council, or on voucher of an officer or committee acting conformably to its laws or orders.

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CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE COMMITTEES ON THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS, THE LIBRARY, AND CABINET.

Art. 1. — At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee of not less than two members shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year preceding, and the state of any funds of the Society in his hands, and to report thereon at the April meeting.

Art. 2. — At the monthly meeting in March, annually, a Committee of not less than three members shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the property of the Society in charge of the Librarian and the Cabinet-keeper, and to report thereon at the April meeting.

Art. 3. — These Committees shall be designated by the Chair, unless otherwise ordered, and shall be required to report in writing or in print.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE LIBRARIAN, AND OF THE LIBRARY.

Art. 1. — The Librarian shall have charge of all the books, tracts, maps, manuscripts, and other property of the Society appropriate to a library; and shall cause to be made, and kept exact and perfect, catalogues of each and all of them, doing whatever may be in his power, at all times, to preserve and increase the collections under his care.

Art. 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation that may be made to the Library, by a certificate addressed to the person making it.

Art. 3. — He shall, at every monthly meeting of the Society, report all donations made to the Library since the last monthly meeting, with the names of the donors; and, at the annual meeting, shall present a statement of the condition and wants of the Library, with a notice of the important accessions that may have been made to it during the year.

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ART. 4. — He shall cause to be kept an exact account of all books taken out, with the names of the persons who take them, and the dates when they are borrowed and returned.

ART. 5. — He shall report in writing, at each monthly meeting, the name of every book that has been out of the Library for a longer term than is permitted by the By-laws, and shall use his discretion in obtaining the return of such books.

ART. 6. — He may have one or more assistants, not members of the Society, appointed by the Council, who shall aid him in all or any of his duties; who shall also aid the Recording Secretary in notifying meetings, copying reports, or in any other way that may be required, and who shall render such other services to the Society connected with its Library or its general proceedings as the Council may direct.

ART. 7. — The Librarian shall be present in the Library, in person or by an assistant, at the regular hours, and at such other times as may be appointed for keeping it open; and shall endeavor to render it useful to all who may resort to it.

ART. 8. — Any Resident Member of the Society may take from the Library three printed volumes at a time, and keep each of them four weeks, with a right to renew the loan for four weeks more, unless some other member has, in that interval, asked for it in writing; but if he retains it beyond this second period, he must first obtain the written assent of a member of the Council, permitting him to do so, or he shall be fined ten cents a week for each volume so retained.

ART. 9. — All members taking books from the Library shall be answerable for any injury done to the same, to such amount as may be deemed just by the Council; and any person neglecting to pay any fines, or assessments for damages, one month after he shall have received notice of the same from the Librarian, or otherwise abusing his privilege to the injury of the Library, shall, by order of the Council, be interdicted from access to the same.

ART. 10. — At the written request of any Resident Member of this Society, the Librarian shall permit any person to visit and use the Library, at such times as the Librarian may be in attendance; such member becoming thereby responsible for any injury to the property of the Society that may result from such introduction of a stranger.

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Art. 11. — At the written request of any Resident Member of the Society, the Librarian shall deliver to any one person indicated in such request, but to no more than one person at the same time, any book or books belonging to the Society, which the member himself could take out; such member, by such request, making himself responsible that all the rules relating to the book or books so taken out shall be as fully observed by the person authorized to receive them as if he were a member; and that any injury accruing to the property of the Society, in consequence of the privilege thus granted, shall be made good by the member at whose request the grant is made.

Art. 12. — At the meetings in April, July, October, and January, the Librarian shall lay before the Society a list of the names of those persons, not members, who, during the preceding three months respectively, may have had access to the Library by permission of individual members of the Society, with the names of the members at whose request the privilege was granted; adding a statement of each injury that may have been sustained by the property of the Society, in consequence of granting such permission, and the name of the member bound to make it good.

Art. 13. — The Publishing Committee, for the time being, shall be permitted to take such books and manuscripts from the Library as they may need, in order to perform the duty assigned to them by the Society; but the Librarian shall make a record of whatever is so taken, and, as soon as the volume they may have in charge is published, he shall require the return of the same.

Art. 14. — All manuscripts of the Society shall be kept under lock and key, and be used only in presence of the Librarian or an assistant.

Art. 15. — Persons not members of the Society, engaged in historical pursuits, shall be allowed to consult the manuscripts belonging to the Society, provided an application in writing, stating the object of the inquiry, be first made to the Librarian, who shall make record of the same.

Art. 16. — No manuscript, and no part of a manuscript, belonging to the Society, shall be copied, except on permission granted by the Council, after an application in writing,

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specifying the manuscript, or part thereof, desired to be copied; and if any manuscript belonging to the Society shall, in consequence of such permission, be published, in whole or in part, the fact that it was obtained from the Society shall be required to be stated in its publication. But nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the publication of names, dates, and other chronological memoranda, without special permission.

ART. 17. — Manuscripts of a confidential nature shall be retained in a place of special deposit, and shall be consulted only under such regulations as may be prescribed in each case by vote of the Society.

ART. 18. — No maps, newspapers, or books of great rarity or of constant reference, shall be taken from the Library, except by vote of the Society.

ART. 19. — All tracts, books, maps, and manuscripts belonging to the Society, shall be distinctly marked as its property; and any such tract, book, &c., that may be presented to the Society shall be marked with the name of the donor, and recorded as his gift.

ART. 20. — The Library shall be open on all week-days, from nine o'clock in the forenoon till sunset (but not later than six o'clock), throughout the year, except on the afternoons of Saturdays, and on days of public observance, and also during the fortnight before the annual meeting in April, when it shall be closed for examination; and all books that may be lent are hereby required to be returned previous to that fortnight, under a penalty of a fine of one dollar for each volume not so returned.

CHAPTER X.

RULES FOR THE DOWSE LIBRARY.

ART. 1. — The room in which the books are deposited which were presented to the Society by Thomas Dowse shall be known forever as the DOWSE LIBRARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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ART. 2. — Agreeably to the condition prescribed by Mr. Dowse, no book shall be taken out of this room.

ART. 3. — Books may be used in the room by members of the Society, and by others introduced by them in person; but no book shall be taken from the cases except by members, or by the Librarian's assistant, who shall cause each book to be returned to its proper place immediately after it has been used.

ART. 4. — Meetings of the Society may be held in the Dowse Library, at the discretion of the Council; but the room shall not be used for any other meetings.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CABINET-KEEPER, AND THE MUSEUM.

ART. 1. — The Cabinet-keeper shall have charge of all coins, works of art, remains of antiquity, and other articles appropriate to the Society's Museum, and shall make and keep perfect and exact catalogues of the same.

ART. 2. — He shall acknowledge each donation he may receive, by letter, to the person making it. At every monthly meeting of the Society, he shall report whatever may have been added to the collection of which he has charge, with the names of the donors; and, at the annual meeting, shall present a full report of the condition of the Museum.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE COUNCIL.

ART. 1. — The Council shall, from time to time, carefully consider the claims of all persons whose names have been proposed for membership, and, as vacancies occur in the Society,

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by death or otherwise, shall, at their discretion, report nominations; but no nomination, whether for Honorary, Corresponding, or Resident Membership, shall be reported of any person whose name has not been entered in the nomination-book at least thirty days, and which shall not have subsequently received the assent of at least seven members of the Council.

ART. 2. — They shall engage whatever assistance is needed to administer the Library, and shall pay the current expenses of the Society, drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose.

ART. 3. — They shall cause to be made, as often as may seem expedient, a thorough examination of the Library and Cabinet of the Society, in order that the books, pictures, manuscripts, and other articles may be carefully compared with their respective Catalogues.

ART. 4. — They shall record in full, in a book kept by them for the purpose, any permission granted by any one of their number for the consultation of the manuscripts of the Society, by persons not members.

ART. 5. — They shall meet in the Society's rooms within one week previous to every regular meeting, on such day and at such hour as they may agree upon, and at such other times as the Chairman shall call them together, for the fulfilment of their appropriate duties, and for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of such business as will be brought before the Society; and for making such arrangements as may be expedient for securing the communication of historical papers.

ART. 6. — They shall, at every meeting, report to the Society all their doings since the last meeting, suggesting at the same time such business as they may deem advisable to bring before it.

ART. 7. — On the death of a Resident Member, they shall, at the next meeting of the Society, report, through the President, a nomination of a person to prepare a memoir of the deceased for the Proceedings.

ART. 8. — They shall have authority to appoint such sub-committees of their number as they shall think expedient, to facilitate the administration of the Society's affairs.

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ART. 9. — They shall make an annual report, to be drawn up by that one of the members at large who has had the longest term of service.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

ART. 1. — Immediately after the publication of any volume of the Collections of the Society, or at any other time when the Society may order, a Committee of not less than three persons shall be appointed by nomination from the chair, whose duty it shall be to prepare and publish another volume; for which purpose they are authorized to draw on the Treasurer, and free use is granted to them of all the manuscripts, printed books, and other resources of the Society, except the manuscripts deposited as confidential; said Committee being required hereby to return whatever they may have thus received, so soon as their use of the same for the purposes of such publication shall have ceased.

In every publication that shall be made from the income of the Appleton, the Peabody, or other publishing fund, there shall be inserted in each volume a statement in print, that it was made at the charge of that fund which bears the expense of the publication.

ART. 2. — The Recording Secretary, and two other members to be appointed at the annual meeting by the President, shall constitute a Committee, with full power to provide for occasional reports, as well as for the permanent publication of the Proceedings of the Society, subject to the following limitations: —

First, Neither the remarks nor the name of any member shall be introduced into any report without his permission.

Second, All papers read or remarks made by any member, which such member shall desire or be willing to have printed, shall be submitted to the above-named Committee for the

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purpose, and shall be subject to their discretion: provided, however, that any member may publish, on his own responsibility, any paper or remarks of his own which the Committee may not think fit to include in their report; it being understood that, in such case, the name of the Society is not to be used in any way whatever in connection with such publication.

[Additional Article. Adopted June, 1889.]

Art. 8. In order to facilitate the work of the Society, the Council may, when it shall seem expedient, appoint a member of the Society, or other competent person, who shall be immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes, whether of Collections or Proceedings, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press. If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex officio* a member of all committees of publication; but if he be not a Resident Member, his authority shall be subordinate to that of said committees. In view of the laborious nature of his duties, he may receive a salary, the amount of which shall be fixed by the Council, as in the case of the Librarian's assistants.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1889.

THE first meeting in the new year was held on the 10th instant; and Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS presided.

The Recording Secretary read his report of the last meeting.

The Librarian stated what new books had been presented to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary referred to a manuscript relating to the American Revolution which had been recently discovered; and Messrs. Winsor, Chamberlain, and Haynes were appointed to consider the expediency of procuring it.

At the suggestion of the President, Dr. Deane and Messrs. Cobb and Bangs were appointed to consider and report at the next meeting what materials exist in the library suitable for publication in a volume appropriate to the centennial anniversary of the organization of the National Government.

The President laid before the Society a letter dated July 5, 1798, written by a Loyalist refugee in Windsor, N. S.; and also a list of soldiers who entered into his Majesty's service for the defence of the Province in 1754.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was appointed to write a memoir of the late William Amory. On motion of Mr. C. C. Smith, it was voted that the sum of $3,000, which had been bequeathed by Mr. Amory, be set aside as a permanent fund, to be known as the William Amory Fund, in grateful recognition of Mr. Amory's interest in the work of the Society, and that the income be applied to the general purposes of the Society; or to such specified objects as may be directed from time to time.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP addressed the Society as follows: —

In turning over an old letter-case a few days ago, my eye was attracted to a letter relating to a paper which was deposited in our archives more than twelve years ago.

It happened that in the year 1849, or possibly in the early part of 1850, while I was a member of Congress, Prescott, the

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historian, made a visit to Washington, and we dined together at the Executive Mansion with Gen. Zachary Taylor, then the President of the United States. Prescott sat next to the President, who held an earnest conversation with him about the then recent war with Mexico. General Taylor, as Prescott afterwards told me, even ventured to persuade him to write the history of that war; but Prescott told him that he had long before made up his mind never to deal with events of such recent occurrence. The President, however, induced him to become the depositary of a long letter of his to Mr. Buchanan, the Secretary of State when the letter was written which he regarded as especially necessary to the vindication of his own character and to the history of the war.

This paper remained in Prescott's keeping until his death in 1859, and was in the custody of his family or executors for many years afterward. Early in 1876 I was called into consultation in regard to it; and it was agreed, on my suggestion, that it should be given to this Society, and deposited in our archives for such historical use as might be thought fit at some future period.

It was well understood, and indeed known, by all of us who were permitted to read the letter, that it contained a good deal of controversial matter, and that it dealt somewhat severely with the course of Gen. Winfield Scott. My relations to both Scott and Taylor had been of the most intimate and I might say affectionate character, and I was very unwilling to have anything done, or left undone, which could affect the reputation of either of them injuriously. We have had no nobler men on the military roll of our country, and I cherish the memory of them both with the warmest regard.

They were now both in their graves; but sons and daughters of both were living, whose feelings were well worthy of consideration.

Under these circumstances I wrote at once to my friend, Gen. Richard Taylor, one of my colleagues on the Peabody Board of Southern Education, and a son of President Zachary Taylor, and told him the whole story. His answer, dated March 27, 1876, is the letter which I so recently found. It is as follows: —

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WINCHESTER, March 27, 1876.

DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — Yours of yesterday, with enclosure, has just reached me. My house was burned during the late Civil War, and all my papers destroyed. I supposed the letter you mention was among the late President Buchanan's papers, and, so far as I know, no publication of it has been made. Although thirty years have elapsed since the letter was written, children of General Scott survive, as well as many actors in the events mentioned, and publication would inevitably arouse unpleasant feelings and discussions. At some future time, when the above objections cease to exist, this letter should be given to the world. I feel every confidence in the wisdom and discretion of your Society, and am pleased to learn that the document rests in its archives.

I anticipate the pleasure of meeting you in August at the "White Sulphur." Meantime, present my respectful compliments to your lady, and believe me

Most sincerely, R. TAYLOR.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP.

Gen. Richard Taylor died early in 1879, and nearly thirteen years have elapsed since his letter was written. I have begun to feel afraid that no one will be left to deal intelligently with his father's letter to Secretary Buchanan, or to recall the circumstances under which it came into the possession of this Society.

I have therefore made this statement, to go quietly on our Secretary's files; and I propose that the paper in our archives, to which I have referred, be committed to General Devens and Mr. John C. Ropes for examination, and for such recommendations as they may see fit to report to the Society, at their own discretion and convenience. I think it should not be made the subject of any published record of our proceedings until these gentlemen have found leisure for reporting the results of their examination.

The Rev. Mr. JENKS remarked that the house in which was held the first meeting of the Suffolk Convention, August 16, 1774, in Stoughton, now Canton, and which has long been an historical landmark, was totally destroyed by fire on the 19th of December last. This convention, at a subsequent meeting in Milton, passed the famous Suffolk Resolves, to express the sentiments of the people in regard to the oppressive policy of Great Britain.

The Rev. Mr. SLAFTER then read the following paper: —

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Royal Memorials and Emblems in Use in the Colonies before the Revolution.

The English colonists within the territory of what we now call the thirteen original States illustrated, anterior to the outbreak of the Revolution, their loyalty to the Government, under which they were born and whose protection they had enjoyed, by the use of royal emblems and regal titles, symbols, and memorials. Their pride and their taste were both gratified in associating as closely as possible the national emblems of British authority, the lion, the harp, and the crown, with their public duties and their private occupations. The King's Arms were displayed in their halls of legislation, in their court-rooms and government-houses, and on the executive mansions; on official proclamations, news-journals, and gazettes; on the titlepage of their printed laws; on the signs of inns or taverns, and on the shops of the trader and the artisan. Orange, Nassau, Brunswick, Lunenburg, and Hanover,[1] Elizabeth, James, Henry, Charles, William and Mary, Anne, George, and Charlotte were applied in numerous instances to the larger and lesser civil divisions of their territory, to provinces, counties, towns, rivers, and lakes, and even to the streets of their cities.

In the recital which follows we shall not fail to observe how widely these names and emblems were employed, and with what profound interest and respect they were regarded.

In 1636 the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay ordered the Arms of Charles I. to be set up in the Court-Rooms at Ipswich, at Salem, at Newtown, and at Boston.[2] In 1678 the Arms of Charles II. were ordered to be carved and erected in the Court House, the building in which the legislative body of the Colony was accustomed to meet.[3] And

[1] William III., before he was elevated to the throne of England, was Prince of Orange and Duke of Nassau. George I., before he assumed the English crown, was Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg and Elector of Hanover.

[2] "Further, it is ordered, that, in all aforesd places of judicature, the king's matie armes shall be erected soe sone as they can be hadd." *Vide* Records of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i. p. 175.

[3] In a communication of the General Court to its agent in England is the following: "The king's armes also the Court haue ordered to be forthwith carved by an able artist & erected in the court house." *Vide* Records of Massachusetts Bay, vol. v. p. 208.

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subsequently the Arms of Queen Anne were displayed in the same building before its destruction by fire in 1711.[1] The Arms of the House of Hanover adorned the walls of the Council Chamber in the Old State House in Boston at the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775; while the supporters of the Royal Arms, the Lion and Unicorn, were wrought into the ornamental work on the eastern gable of the same building.[2] At this period a similar but smaller Coat of Arms was displayed on the front of the Province House, a spacious mansion in Boston occupied by the colonial Governors.[3] In Salem the Arms of Queen Anne were ordered, in the first year of her reign, to be placed over the seat of justice in the court room; and the same Arms, or those of a later sovereign, occupied the same place in 1763.[4]

The Arms of the House of Hanover decorated the Court House in Worcester down to as late a date as July, 1776.[5] Soon after the completion of the King's Chapel in Boston, or at least as early as 1696, the Arms of William III., carved in wood, were placed upon its walls.[6] Through all the years

[1] "In our Boston Library several valuable Books were lost, as the Polyglott Bible, the London Criticks, Thuanus's History, a Manuscript in two Folios left by Capt: Reyn the Founder; &c. The ancient Halberts that were formerly carried before the Governour, were now prepared for their urn; and the chair of the present Governour. (I will not mention the Councellors Seats) a good Clock; and which was more worth, the Queen's Arms." *Vide* Letter of Samuel Sewall to Jeremiah Dummer, April 22, 1712. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. i. sixth series, pp. 422, 423.

[2] *Vide* Bill of Thomas Craft, Jr., for painting the Royal Arms in 1773, in the possession of Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D., Librarian of the City Library of Boston. The Lion and Unicorn, as they originally appeared on the gable of the Old State House, may be seen in the engraving by Paul Revere representing the State Street massacre. *Vide* a reproduction in the "Re-dedication of the Old State House," 1882, p. 82.

[3] *Vide postea*, pp. 259, 260.

[4] *Vide* Annals of Salem, by J. B. Felt, 1827, vol. i. p. 390. also Files of the Court Sessions as cited by Abner C. Goodell, Jr., in his Centennial Address before the Essex Institute, Oct. 5, 1874.

[5] "The Arms of that Tyrant in Britain, George III. of execrable memory, which in former reigns decorated, but of late disgraced the Court House in this town were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes." *Vide* Massachusetts Spy, Worcester, July 24, 1776.

[6] The King's Chapel was first opened for service on the 30th of June, 1689. It was a wooden structure, situated on the space now occupied by the tower and front part of the present King's Chapel, which latter was erected in 1754. *Vide* Annals of King's Chapel, by the Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, Boston, 1882, vol. i. pp. 82, 123; History of King's Chapel, by the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, p. 176.

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from 1693 to 1774 an engraved representation of the Royal Arms, changing from time to time in the succeeding reigns, illuminated the titlepage of the printed volumes containing the laws of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.[1] The "Boston News Letter" and the "Boston Post Boy," the leading journals in the Colony, as did the "Massachusetts Spy," ornamented their titlepages for several years with conspicuous delineations of the Arms of George III.[2] Prior to the year 1747 the portraits of English sovereigns, probably of William and Mary, and perhaps Anne, and others, adorned the halls of the General Court; and in 1761 portraits of George I. and of George II., in rich and freshly gilded frames, and likewise at a later date probably those of Charles II. and James II., were suspended on the walls of the Council Chamber in the Old State House in Boston.[3] Within the boundaries of the Colony

[1] *Vide* a complete series of the Laws of Massachusetts Bay, in the Massachusetts State Library, in the State House, Boston.

[2] These papers are preserved in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, and in that of the Massachusetts Historical Society. *Vide* also the Massachusetts Spy, Worcester, July 24, 1776.

[3] The Boston Weekly News Letter, for Dec. 10, 1747, in giving an account of the fire that consumed the whole interior of the State House, says: "As the fire began in the middle or second story, the Records, Books, Papers, Furniture, Pictures of the Kings and Queens, &c., which were in the Council Chamber, the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and the Apartments thereof, in that Story were consumed." The Boston Evening Post of Dec. 14, 1747, says: "The fine Pictures and other furniture in the Council Chamber were destroyed, as were also the Books, Papers, and Records in both Lobbies."

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, the 7th day of November, 1760: present in Council His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., Governor, John Osborne, Andrew Oliver, James Bowdoin, Jacob Wendell, Esq., John Irving, Esq., Thomas Hancock, Esq., Ezekiel Cheever, Thomas Hubbard. His Excellency, the Governor, having presented a picture of his present majesty, in a rich Gilt Frame to be put up in the Council Chamber, and an other Picture of his late majesty for which there is no frame, Ordered that the Thanks of the Council be given to his Excellency, and that the Secretary give Orders for a Frame for the Picture last mentioned, that shall match the other." *Vide* MS. Council Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, vol. xiv. p. 286.

The above order passed on the 7th of November, 1760. The intelligence of the death of George II., which occurred on the 25th of October, 1760, had not then reached America. It is plain, therefore, that the reference in this order of the Council to his "*present* majesty" was to George II., and his *late* "majesty" was George I. That the portraits of Charles II. and James II. were in the Council Chamber rests on the statement of John Adams in his letter to William Tudor of March 29, 1818. *Vide* Novanglus and Massachusettensis, Boston, 1819. The great unpopularity of Charles II. and James II. in Massachusetts, together with the long period of more than half a century which had elapsed since Mr. Adams had seen the pictures, and the fact that he does not mention the portraits of George I.

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were the significant local names, Duke's County,[1] Elizabeth Islands,[2] Charles River, Charlestown,[3] Cape Anne,[4] Lunenburg, Hanover,[5] Prince's Head Isle,[6] King's Road,[7] Fort William, and George's Island.[8]

The citizens of Boston had within the limits of their municipality a King, a Queen, an Anne, and a Prince Street; George, Orange, and Hanover Streets; a Nassau Green, a Hanover Square, a Royal Exchange Lane, and a Red Lion Wharf.[9] The innkeepers of Boston sought for popular favor

and George II., which were undoubtedly at that time on the walls of the Council Chamber, suggest a doubt whether Mr. Adams's memory did not fail him as to the portraits of Charles II. and James II.

There is, however, an entry on the records of the Council of the same day on which Governor Bernard presented the portraits of George I. and George II. which is not inconsistent with Mr. Adams's statement. It is as follows: "Ordered that the Frames of two whole-length Pictures presented to the Government by Mr Yeomans be repaired and new Gilt in order to be put up in said Chamber, and that the Thanks of the Board be returned to Mr Thomas Greenough for his good offices in procuring said Pictures of Mr Yeomans, and that he be desired to return the Thanks of the Board to Mr. Yeomans for them." *Vide* MS. Records of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, vol. xiv. pp. 286, 287. The following bills, offered for allowance, appear to refer to the same pictures: "To John Singleton Copley the sum of eleven pounds, twelve shillings to discharge his account for cleaning varnishing and mending pictures for the Court House;" "To Peter Cumber the sum of thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence to discharge his acct. of mending, putting together, and guilding Picture frames for the Court House." *Vide* MS. Record of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, 3 March, 1761, vol. xiv. p. 356. It will be observed that the record does not disclose the subjects of the two full-length pictures presented by Mr. Yeomans, and they may have been those of Charles II. and James II.

[1] Named Duke's County when under the jurisdiction of the Duke of York, subsequently James II., King of England.

[2] Named by Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, in honor of Queen Elizabeth.

[3] This name was given to the river by Capt. John Smith in honor of Charles I., then a young Prince, and heir-apparent. It was subsequently given to the town in honor of Charles I., who had come to the throne ten years before its incorporation.

[4] Named Cape Anne by Capt. John Smith, after Anne of Denmark, the Queen of James I.

[5] For Lunenburg and Hanover, *vide antea*, note 1, p. 239.

[6] *Vide* old Map in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1775.

[7] A roadstead for ships near Castle Island, now called President's Road. *Vide* Drake's History of Boston, p. 812. Fort William, or Castle William, so named in honor of William III. *Vide* Drake's History of Boston, p. 805.

[8] *Vide* Chevalier de Beaurain's Map, Paris, 1776.

[9] For the date of the naming of these streets, *vide* History of Boston by S. G. Drake, pp. 803–819; also Report of Record Commissioners, Town Records, 1700–1728, pp. 49–54. Hanover Street was so named as early as 1708, some years before the House of Hanover came to the throne. But as Queen Anne had no direct heirs, George I. was heir-apparent, and the name was probably

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by giving to their houses such names as the George,[1] the Lion,[2] the Royal Exchange,[3] the King's Head,[4] the Queen's Head,[5] the King's Arms,[6] the White Horse Tavern,[7] the Red Lion Tavern, the Orange Tree,[8] and the Crown Coffee House.[9]

The small traders in Boston gave dignity and importance to their calling by elevating over their shop doors, either in carved wood or in colors, such emblems as the Crown and Blue Gate,[10] the Crown and Sceptre,[11] the Crown and Heart,[12] the Razor and Crown,[13] the Crown and Comb, the Three Crowns, the Bible and Three Crowns, the Thistle and Crown, the Unicorn,[14] the Lion and Mortar;[15] and Boston Crown Soap was offered for sale in New York in 1774.[16] The spire

given in honor of his family. *Vide* Massachusetts Gazette, Sept. 8, 1768. *Vide* Nassau Green on MS. Plan of the estate of the Rev. Mather Byles, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Several streets in Boston appear to have been named from important historical events; but the notice of them does not properly fall within the scope of this investigation: such, for example, as Charter Street, from the grant of the new charter by William and Mary; Union Street, from the union of England and Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne; and more recently, Federal Street, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Massachusetts Delegates who held their sessions in a church in that street.

[1] Boston Town Records (1883), 1700–1728, p. 172.

[2] Book of Possessions, part ii., 1882, p. 86.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 103; Boston Gazette, March 9, 1775.

[4] Book of Possessions, p. 125.

[5] Sewall Papers, vol. ii. p. 52.

[6] Suffolk Deeds, Boston, 1880, lib. i. pp. 128, 136.

[7] Boston News Letter, Feb. 28, 1734. This tavern was doubtless named in allusion to the white horse of Hanover in the Royal Arms of George II. *Vide* Regal Armorie of Great Britain, by Alex. Brunet, p. 234.

[8] Drake's History of Boston, 1856, pp. 814–816.

[9] Sewall Papers, vol. iii. pp. 110, 111; New England Courant, July 23, 1722.

[10] The sign on the bookstore of John Checkley, over against the west end of the Town House in Boston. *Vide* the imprint of Checkley's edition of Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists, London, 1723.

[11] *Vide* Massachusetts Spy, Nov. 14, 1771.

[12] Massachusetts Gazette, Feb. 8, 1768.

[13] History of Boston, by S. G. Drake, p. 816. This was the sign of Samuel Franklin, a hardware-dealer.

[14] History of Boston, by S. G. Drake, pp. 807, 818. The "three crowns" in the above-named series could hardly have reference to the "Magi," but are probably an instance of trichotomy, which has always been attractive to the eye and ear. England can boast of nearly seventy tavern and shop signs representing as many different objects, but all in triplicate.

[15] Weekly News Letter, Dec. 22, 1774; Massachusetts Spy, June 30, 1774.

[16] Rivington's New York Gazetteer, Sept. 29, 1774.

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of the first King's Chapel supported a crown, an emblem doubtless suggested by the name given to the chapel.[1]

Royal emblems, more or less numerous, were common in all the larger towns in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Salem had its King's Arms Tavern,[2] its King's Head,[3] its sign of King George III.,[4] the Lion and Mortar,[5] its King, Queen, and Hanover Streets.[6] The Royal Arms were displayed over the altar in St. Michael's Church in Marblehead.[7] In Newburyport we find a King and a Queen Street,[8] a Queen's Wharf,[9] and a Queen Anne's Chapel.[10] In Worcester there was a King's Arms Tavern.[11]

In Portland, then within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, now in the State of Maine, there was a King's Street and a Queen Street; and in that Province was a Fort William Henry,[12] a County of York, and a town of the same name, both of which still bear the ancient appellation.

New Hampshire had its Charlestown, its Hanover, its Kingstown,[13] its King's Creek,[14] and its Fort William and Mary.[15] The King's Arms were displayed on the Province House in Portsmouth in 1759; and in the same town there was a

[1] *Vide* History of King's Chapel, by the Rev. Henry W. Foote, vol. i. pp. 58, 206; Antique Views of Boston, by J. H. Stark, 1882, p. 300.

[2] Essex Gazette, Sept. 6, 1774.

[3] Salem Gazette, July 15, 1774.

[4] Felt's History of Salem, vol. i. p. 422.

[5] Essex Gazette, Feb. 27, and March 26, 1776.

[6] *Ibid.*, August 12, and Dec. 28, 1774.

[7] In his address commemorative of the restoration of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, April 18, 1888, the Hon. Samuel Roads, Jr., said: "The news of the Declaration of Independence produced the wildest enthusiasm and the most extravagant manifestations of joy. The bells of the churches were rung for an entire week, and every evening fires were lighted on the hill-tops in honor of the great event. During the excitement a body of men entered St. Michael's Church, pulled the Royal Coat of Arms from its place above the chancel, and rang the bell until it cracked."

[8] Smith's History of Newburyport, p. 46.

[9] Essex Gazette, August 16, 1774.

[10] Smith's History of Newburyport, p. 47.

[11] *Vide postea*, note 1, p. 253.

[12] *Vide* History of Portland, by William Willis, p. 329; also Martin's History of North Carolina, vol. i. p. 194. *Vide* for Fort William Henry last paragraph of note 5, p. 247.

[13] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vol. ii. p. 131.

[14] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 222.

[15] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 570.

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King's Street and a Queen Street, and a Queen's Chapel, in which also were displayed the King's Arms.[1] An engraved representation of the King's Arms headed the titlepage of the "New Hampshire Gazette and Historical Chronicle," printed in Portsmouth.[2] The Royal Arms were also displayed in the ancient Church at New Castle in 1704;[3] and an engraved representation ornamented the titlepages of the printed laws of the Province.

In Rhode Island there was a King's County, a Jamestown, and a Charlestown.[4] In Providence the King's Arms occupied a conspicuous place in the Colony House.[5] There was also in the same town a Crown Coffee House, bearing the emblem of a crown;[6] also the Brazen Lion,[7] the Bunch of Grapes and Lion,[8] and the White Horse, and a Charles Street.[9] In Newport there was a King and a Queen's Street,[10] and a Tavern known as the Golden Lion. An English crown ornamented the organ-case in Trinity Church, Newport.[11]

Connecticut signified its loyalty by placing the Arms of Charles I., carved in wood, in a public place in the town of New Haven.[12] In Hartford the Royal Arms of the Hanoverian family, painted in oil on canvas, were displayed in the old Council Chamber;[13] and in the streets of that town

[1] This chapel was erected in 1732, and named Queen's Chapel in honor of Caroline, Queen of George II. She gave books and plate and chairs, still in use in St. John's Church, which name the parish took after the Revolution. *Vide* Rambles about Portsmouth, by C. W. Brewster, vol. i. p. 846. *Vide* Portsmouth Mercury, March 18, 1765; New Hampshire Gazette, July 18, 1776. For an account of the Royal Arms displayed on the Province House in 1759, *vide* Annals of Portsmouth, by Nathaniel Adams, p. 201.

[2] *Vide* History of Printing, by Isaiah Thomas, 2d ed., vol. ii. p. 94.

[3] *Vide* New Castle, Historic and Picturesque, by John Albee, Boston, 1884.

[4] *Vide* Providence Gazette, March 11, 1769; Feb. 25, 1771; March 6, 1771; Jan. 23, 1769.

[5] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1776; Newport Mercury, Feb. 6, 1779.

[6] Providence Gazette, June 22, 1776.

[7] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1772.

[8] *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1766.

[9] *Ibid.*, May 25, 1776. *Vide* Annals of Providence, by W. R. Staples, p. 195.

[10] Newport Mercury, March 19, 1764; June 11, 1764.

[11] *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1773. The organ in Trinity Church was presented by the renowned Bishop Berkeley, who was in Newport from 1729 to 1731. The crown on the organ still remains. *Vide* MS. letter of the Rev. George J. Magill, Rector.

[12] New Haven Colony Records, 1638–49, p. 369; also History of the Colony of New Haven, by Edward E. Atwater, 1881, pp. 568, 585.

[13] *Vide* MS. letter of the Hon. Charles J. Hoadly. These Arms are still extant, and will be referred to in the sequel.

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might have been seen the sign of the White Horse, and that of the Heart and Crown.[1] An engraved representation of the King's Arms was on the titlepage of the "New London Gazette," and on that of the "Connecticut Courant."[2]

The name of New York was given in honor of the Duke of York, subsequently James II., when that Province was granted to him by Charles II. in 1664; and New York, its chief city, as well as that of Albany, was named in honor of the same prince.[3] The Arms of James II. were placed on all the Indian "Castles," or Forts, near the great lake prior to 1685;[4] and in 1711 the Arms of Queen Anne were presented to an Indian tribe, known as the Onondagas, as a token that the French had there no jurisdiction. There was a Queen Anne Chapel in Florida, Montgomery County, soon after its settlement in 1711.[5] The Arms of George III. were displayed in the Province House or Court Room in New York, and were also wrought in stone on the front of the same building.[6] The King's Arms also adorned the walls of Trinity Church in that city. An equestrian statue of the same King, cast in lead and overlaid with gold, was erected in the Bowling Green a short time before the breaking out of the Revolution. A portrait likewise of the King was suspended on the walls of the Council Chamber.[7] New York

[1] Connecticut Courant, Nov. 20, 1781, June 24, 1765.

[2] *Vide* Thomas's History of Printing, 2d ed., vol. ii. pp. 88, 90.

[3] The title of James II. before he came to the throne was Duke of York and Albany.

[4] New York Colonial Documents, vol. iii. p. 868.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 248, 249, 275, 276. *Vide* Hough's Gazetteer of New York, p. 408.

[6] "On Tuesday last the DECLARATION of the INDEPENDENCY of the United States of AMERICA was published at the City Hall; when a number of people, true friends of the rights and liberties of this country, attended, and signified their approbation to it by loud acclamation. After which the Coats of Arms of his Majesty George the III. were torn to pieces and burnt in the presence of the spectators." *Vide* New York Packet, July 25, 1776; History of the City of New York, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, vol. i. p. 356; *vide* also Field Book of the Revolution, by Benson J. Lossing, vol. ii. p. 801, note 2.

[7] "A fine equestrian statue of the King was pulled down and totally demolished immediately after independency was declared. All the King's Arms, even those on signs of taverns, were destroyed. The Committee sent me a message, which I esteemed a favor and indulgence, to have the King's Arms taken down in the church, or else the mob would do it, and might deface and injure the church. I immediately complied." *Vide* State of the Anglo-American Church

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had its King's, its Queen's, its Dutchess, its Charlotte, and its Orange County; its Orangetown,[1] its Lunenburg,[2] its Queensbury, its Annesberg,[3] its Kingstown, its King's Bridge, and Crown Point; its Fort Edward, Fort Frederick, Fort George,[4] Fort William Henry, Fort James, Fort William and Mary, its Fort Anne,[5] and its Lake George.[6]

In New York City there was a King, Queen, Prince, Duke,

in 1776, by Charles Inglis, D.D., late Bishop of Nova Scotia, in Documentary History of New York, vol. iii. p. 642.

"On Tuesday last, the Congress's Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America was read at the head of several Brigades in this City with acclamations of joy; and 't is expected, will be declared in form by order of the Provincial Congress in a few days. Same day, in the evening, the statue of King George the Third, on horseback, in the Bowling-green, was taken down, broken to pieces, and its honor levelled with the dust." This statue was of lead, overlaid with gold-leaf, and was placed in the Bowling Green in 1770. After it was torn from its pedestal and defaced, a considerable portion of it was taken to Litchfield, Connecticut, and cast into bullets by the son and daughters of Oliver Wolcott, assisted by Mrs. Beach and Mrs. and Miss Marvin. It is said to have made forty-two thousand bullets. Doubtless the wit of Ebenezer Hazard was realized in fact, who said that the King's troops would have "melted majesty fired at them." *Vide* New York Packet and American Advertiser, July 11, 1776; Maryland Journal, July 17, 1776; Field Book of the Revolution, by Benson J. Lossing, vol. ii. p. 801.

[1] *Vide* New York Journal, Feb. 16, 1769.

[2] *Vide* New York Mercury, August 5, 1765.

[3] *Vide* Hough's Gazetteer of the State of New York, p. 208. The patent of Queensbury was granted by Queen Anne in 1708.

[4] New York Journal, June 13, 1776; Barber's New York Historical Collections, p. 95.

[5] History of New York, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, p. 387; Field Book of the Revolution, by B. J. Lossing, vol. i. p. 139. Near the Bowling Green in the city of New York, the Dutch built a fort in 1614 or 1615, which they called "Fort Amsterdam." When it came into the possession of the English, with changes and enlargements, it was successively named Fort James, Fort William and Mary, Fort Anne, and Fort George, which last appellation it bore at the breaking out of the Revolution. *Vide* History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, by Benjamin Ferris, p. 18. Fort William Henry was so named in honor of William Henry, a young prince, the third son of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales. He was a younger brother of George III., born in 1743 and died in 1805.

[6] The Indian name of this lake was *Andiatarocté;* the Jesuit Father, Isaac Jogues, arriving there on the eve of Corpus Christi, named it *Lac du Saint Sacrement,* in honor of the Holy Eucharist, and not with any reference to the purity of its waters or the Sacrament of Baptism, as has been alleged. Mr. Cooper named it *Horican* in his novel, "The Last of the Mohicans," although this name had never been given to it by the Indians; and this he admitted in a subsequent edition. *Vide* The Last of the Mohicans, by J. Fenimore Cooper, Gregory's edition, New York, 1864, pp. ix, x, and 12. Its name, Lake George, given to it by Sir William Johnson in 1755, in honor of George II., is likely to be perpetuated. *Vide* Documentary History of New York, vol. ii. p. 401.

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ton, in the chapel of which was displayed a portrait of George II.[1]

In Pennsylvania, the town of Lancaster had a King, a Queen, a Prince, a Charlotte, an Orange, and a Duke Street. In Christ Church, Philadelphia, the Royal Arms of William and Mary, carved in wood, were displayed over the Governor's pew; there was on the same church a bust, carved in wood, of George II. Philadelphia had a King Street and a Hanover Square. Among its taverns were the Three Crowns, the Queen's Head, the Blue Lion, and the Harp and Crown.[2] The Royal Arms appeared as a vignette on the "Pennsylvania Chronicle" in 1767, and on the "Pennsylvania Ledger" in 1775.

In Delaware we find no evidence that the Royal Arms were displayed in the public buildings before the Revolution. Such, however, may have been the case. But, as a vignette, they were represented by an engraving on the "Cape Fear Gazette" and on the "Cape Fear Mercury." In Wilmington there was a King Street and an Orange Street.[3]

Maryland, chartered in 1632 by Charles I., took its name from his Queen Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV.

[1] New York Mercury, Nov. 8, 1756; August 5, 1765. Rivington's New York Gazetteer, Nov. 17, 1774. New York Packet, August 6, 1778; Dec. 27, 1783.

"I have made very full examination of all the books and records containing notices of the government buildings here in colonial times, and I find no mention of the Arms of the King, or any Royal Arms, set up in the buildings. It would seem more than probable that such was the case, but I can find no notice of the fact in any papers of that time." *Vide* MS. letter of Gen. William S. Stryker, of Trenton, New Jersey, May 28, 1883.

It is said that the portrait of George II. in Nassau Hall was destroyed by a cannon-ball when Washington opened fire upon the College in the battle of Princeton, and that the frame was uninjured, and now contains a portrait of Washington by Charles Wilson Peale. *Vide* Field Book of the Revolution, by Benson J. Lossing, vol. ii. p. 244.

[2] *Vide* Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, pp. 366, 395, 464, 466, 467; Freeman's Journal, July 10, and Sept. 4, 1782; Oct. 15, 1783. For the names of the streets in Lancaster I am indebted to the Rev. C. F. Knight, D.D., and A. Slaymaker, Esq., of Lancaster.

[3] "I can find no trace of the emblazonment of the Royal Arms anywhere in this State, either in wood-carving or on canvas. . . . No public building of much dignity existed hereabout for civil use. The oldest church, 1698, still stands in this city; but it was built for a congregation of Swedish Lutherans, and contains no national insignia whatever." *Vide* MS. letter of the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Wilmington, Delaware, Nov. 20, 1883. For names of streets, *vide* Plan of Willingtown, now Wilmington, in the County of New-Castle-upon-Delaware in 1736, in the History of Settlements on the Delaware, by Benjamin Ferris, p. 295.

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of France.[1] It had a Prince George County and a Queen Anne County; and among its towns were Queen Anne, Georgetown, Queenstown, Elizabethtown, Royal Oak, Prince Fredericktown, and Annapolis; the latter named in honor of Queen Anne, from whom it received its charter in 1708. In Annapolis there was a Duke of Gloucester Street and a Prince George Street.[2] The walls of the State House in the same town were adorned by a full-length portrait of Queen Anne, in which she was represented as presenting a charter to the city of Annapolis. The walls of the provincial Armory were likewise decorated with a portrait of the same Queen.[3] There was also established at Annapolis, as early as 1696, King William's School, subsequently merged in St. John's College.[4] In Baltimore there was a Hanover, a Queen, and an Orange Street.[5]

Virginia took its name from Elizabeth, the virgin Queen of England. Its territorial divisions were largely designated by terms closely associated with the Royal family. It had its Lunenburg County, its Orange, Hanover, Prince George, its King and Queen County; its Charlotte, Prince Edward, Brunswick, Princess Anne, Henrico, Williamsburg, King William, Prince William, and King George Counties. It had also a Fort George, a Georgetown, a Charles City, Elizabeth City, James City, Jamestown, Charlotteville, and Williamsburg.[6] It also had its William and Mary College, chartered by William and Mary in 1691.

[1] "There is a Province near the English colony of Virginia, which, in honor of Maria, his queen, his Majesty the King of England wished to be called Maryland, or the land of Mary." *Vide* Ridgeley's Annals of Annapolis, p. 18.

[2] *Vide* R. S. Fisher's Gazetteer of Maryland; Annals of Annapolis, by Ridgeley, pp. 129, 230, 241.

[3] "The portrait of Queen Anne is said to have been destroyed during the Revolutionary War, when everything bearing the semblance of royalty was in bad odour with our republican sires." *Vide* Ridgeley's Annals of Annapolis, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 238.

[5] Griffith's Annals of Baltimore, pp. 18, 54, 101, 116.

We have no evidence as to the use or display of the Royal Arms in Maryland. On this subject, in a letter of Mr. Frank B. Mayer, 19 June, 1883, he says: "I know of no tradition or memoranda of such display, but they in all probability existed in the courts and legislative halls."

[6] *Vide* Jefferson's Notes; also Virginia Historical Register, 1848, p. 28.

No record has been found giving definite information relating to Royal Arms in Virginia, but that they existed seems to be nearly certain. Mr. R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, says: "In a manuscript volume of the History of Virginia, written by Edmund Randolph, never

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The city of Alexandria had a King, a Queen, a Prince, and a Princess Street.[1]

The Carolinas were named in honor of Charles I., a patent having been granted by that King in 1630. Among its civil divisions South Carolina had a Port Royal Island, a Georgetown, a Charlestown, an Orangeburg, a Prince Frederick, a Prince George, and a Prince William Parish.[2] It had also a Fort Prince George. In Charleston there was a King, a Queen, a George, and a Princess Street.[3] An engraved representation of the Arms of William III. appeared on the titlepage of the printed laws in 1736; and, as a vignette, the Royal Arms were figured on the titlepage of the "South Carolina Gazette," on the "South Carolina and American General Gazette," and on the "South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal."[4] The Royal Arms of England, of the Hanover Family, probably of George I. were early placed in St. James's Church, Goose Creek, near Charleston. These Arms still remain, and will be referred to in the sequel.[5]

North Carolina had among its civil divisions a Brunswick, New Hanover, an Orange, and a Mecklenburg County; a town of Charlotte, and an Elizabeth City; a King's Mountain, and a Queen Anne's Creek. In Hillsborough there was a King

published, now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, in depicting the sentiment of 1776, he writes: "Not a vestige of royalty was tolerated when the public voice could be brought to act upon it. The wall of the House of Burgesses, which was now transferred to the Convention, was decorated with several of them. The chair in which the Speaker sat was filled by the President of the Convention; had a frontispiece commemorative of the relation between the mother-country and the Colony. These had been criticised before any act of reprobation was taken, and all of them at different times were effaced." This chair is preserved in the State Library of Virginia. *Vide* MS. letter of Mr. R. A. Brock.

[1] These streets still continue to bear their ancient royal appellations. *Vide* MS. letter of Frank W. Hackett, Esq., of Washington, D. C., September, 1888.

[2] *Vide* South Carolina Gazetteer, May 27, June 3, June 10, August 12–14, 1766; New York Mercury, March 17, 1760; Memoirs of the American Revolution, by William Moultrie, vol. i. p. 16.

[3] *Vide* MS. letter of Thomas W. Bacot, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina. For Prince George Fort, *vide* New York Mercury, March 17, 1760.

[4] Thomas's History of Printing, 2d ed., vol. ii. pp. 170, 172, 173.

[5] *Vide* MS. letter of Thomas W. Bacot, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina. "I do not know whether the Royal Arms were ever placed in any public building in Charleston. Probably they were in the Colonial State House (now Court House), and were burned with that building in 1788." *Vide* MS. letter of Gen. Wilmot G. De Saussure, of Charleston, South Carolina; also of James N. Lipscomb, of Columbia, South Carolina.

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Street and a Queen Street. In the town of Charlotte a Queen's College was chartered in 1770.

In Newbern a public building, known as the "Palace," was erected in 1770, and occupied as a residence for a short time by Gov. William Tryon. On the front of this building were displayed the Royal Arms of George III., which were still in position in 1796. The Palace, together with the Arms, was destroyed by fire in 1800.[1]

Georgia took its name from George II., its charter having been granted by that king in 1732. Within its territory was a Frederica,[2] a Fort George, and a Fort William.[3] In Sunbury there was a King's Square and a Queen's Square.[4] On the "Georgia Gazette" the Royal Arms appeared as a vignette in 1766.

This survey of the royal insignia in use in the Colonies before the Revolution is by no means exhaustive. Some of these royal memorials are doubtless on record, but have escaped our observation. Others existed and played their part, but no description of them has survived to the present day. The foregoing recital, however, sufficiently indicates that royal memorials were very numerous in all the Colonies anterior to the American Revolution. Most of them, certainly those most significant, were destroyed when the old government passed away and a new one was introduced. This is especially true of the Royal Arms displayed as emblems of authority in the halls of legislation, in the courts of justice, on the houses of innkeepers, and on the shops of small traders.

[1] *Vide* Westover Manuscripts, edited by William Boyd, p. 121 · Defence of Revolutionary History of North Carolina, by J. S Jones, pp. 333–336. Mecklenburg County was named in honor of Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, Queen of George III. *Vide* Sketches of Western North Carolina, by C. L. Hunter, pp. 19, 153; History of North Carolina, by J. W. Moore, vol. i p. 48, *vide* also MS. letter of Col. W. L. Saunders, of Raleigh, Secretary of State; likewise MS. letter of John D. Whitford, Esq., of Newbern, North Carolina, and of the Rev. Joseph W. Murphy, of Hillsborough, North Carolina.

[2] Named after Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, son of George II. Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, Georgia, author of the History of Georgia, thinks there was laid down on a MS. plan of this town a King's Square and a Queen Square. *Vide* MS. letter, August 9, 1888.

[3] *Vide* History of Georgia, by W. B. Stevens, late Bishop of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. pp. 46, 460. *Vide* also MS. letter of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., May 24, 1888, as follows: "I do not recall any account or tradition of the suspension of the Royal Arms in the Council Chamber, Governor's residence, or Legislative Assembly Rooms in Georgia."

[4] *Vide* MS. letter of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, Georgia.

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The names King Street and Queen Street, common in most of the larger towns, were discontinued, so far as we know, with but few exceptions: in Alexandria, Virginia, in Hillsborough, North Carolina, in Charleston, South Carolina, and in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, there are still in each a King Street and a Queen Street; in the last two King Street is an important thoroughfare in the city. In Wilmington, Delaware, there is still a King Street. But these royal titles, when applied to civil divisions, such as counties and towns, for the most part still remain. So likewise the names and titles of English sovereigns, less suggestive of royalty. Anne, William, George, Prince, Orange, and Hanover are still employed to designate counties, towns, and streets.

But the Royal Arms displayed in the halls of legislation, court-houses, and churches, have nearly all perished.

Those which decorated the Court House in Worcester, Massachusetts, as likewise those upon the public inn in that town, were openly burned on the 16th of July, 1776, by order of the people.[1]

In Boston, on the 18th day of July, 1776, the Royal Arms on taverns, and the signs on shops which had any regal significance, such as the lion and crown, the mortar and crown, the heart and crown, were collected together in King Street, and publicly consumed in a bonfire.[2]

In Providence, Rhode Island, on the 25th of July, 1776, after the reading of the Declaration of Independence, the Arms of the King of Great Britain were taken from the Colony House, and together with those on the Crown Coffee House, burned in the presence of the people.[3]

In New York, on the 18th day of July, 1776, after the publication of the Declaration of Independence at the City Hall, the Arms of his Majesty George III. were torn to pieces and burned in the presence of a vast concourse of citizens.[4]

[1] *Vide* Massachusetts Spy, July 24, 1776.

[2] *Vide* Constitutional Gazette, August 3, 1776; Freeman's Journal or New Hampshire Gazette, July 27, 1776.

William Pynchon, in his MS. journal now in the possession of Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, of Boston, alludes to this destruction in these words, under date July 18, 1776: "In the afternoon the King's Arms were taken down and broken to pieces in the street, and carried off by the people."

[3] *Vide* Providence Gazette, July 27, 1776.

[4] *Vide* New York Packet, July 25, 1776.

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In this manner it is highly probable that in many other important centres the Royal Arms were publicly destroyed. A few, however, escaped, and are still carefully preserved.

In South Carolina, in St. James's Church, Goose Creek, a few miles from Charleston, the British Arms, of the House of Hanover, still occupy their ancient position over the altar. They are moulded in plaster, handsomely painted and gilded, and fastened to the walls by leaden bands. These Arms were not removed during the Revolution, but escaped the general devastation of the British army; and now for more than a

ROYAL ARMS IN ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, GOOSE CREEK, SOUTH CAROLINA.

hundred years have withstood the popular prejudice, and survived our almost universal hostility to the memorials of kingly power. This is the only instance which has come to our knowledge in which the Royal Arms have remained undisturbed in the same place which they occupied before the Revolution. It is not improbable that the presence of these Arms in the church restrained the violence of the British soldiery; and after the conflict was over, they were so closely associated with the memories of the English Church, by whose fostering hand this

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parish had been planted and sustained, that the guardians of this inheritance had naturally neither the heart nor the will to tear from its fastenings this harmless emblem of a kingly power, which had been an inexpressible blessing to them in the past, and had now wholly ceased to exist.[1]

The Royal Arms which before the Revolution were displayed in the Province House at Hartford, in Connecticut, still exist, and are in good preservation. They are not, like most others, carved in wood, but painted on canvas, on a black ground, and surrounded by a frame of the same color. Connecticut was not the theatre of much violence during the Revolution. It is conjectured that these Arms were, after the "declaration of independence," quietly removed to some obscure part of the Province House, where they remained many years. They figured for some time as a curiosity in Stewart's Museum, which was in an upper room of the State House. About fifty years ago they passed into the custody of the Connecticut Historical Society, and are now to be seen in a conspicuous place in its library. They are the Arms of the House of Hanover, and of course of one of the Georges, but at what time they were first set up in the Province House is not disclosed by any record now known to historical students.[2]

Connecticut was the home of another coat of Royal Arms which is still extant. These Arms are now in All Saints Church, at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada. The Rev. Samuel Andrews was Rector of St. Paul's Church, Wallingford, Connecticut, from 1762 to 1785, when he removed to St. Andrews. Soon after his arrival, steps were taken

[1] "The Church of this Parish was the only country Church that was not profaned by the British Army in the Revolutionary War. Some were converted into garrisons, others into hospitals and barracks, and some were burnt. It is attributed to the Royal Arms being suffered to remain over the Altar." *Vide* History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, by Frederick Dalcho, M.D., pp. 262, 263. I am indebted to Thomas W. Bacot, Esq., of Charleston, for much valuable information in relation to these Arms, and also, through him, to Miss Sabina L. McCrady for a copy in oil, from which our illustration has been taken. At the time of the earthquake on Tuesday evening, August 31, 1886, these Royal Arms were hurled from their position and shattered to atoms, My copy in oil, the only one in existence, was loaned for the purpose, and this ancient Coat of Royal Arms has now been completely restored.

[2] I am indebted to Charles J. Hoadly, Esq., of the Connecticut State Library, for valuable information touching the history and description of these Arms.

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for the erection of a church, which was completed for use probably about the first of the year 1790. On the walls of that church the Royal Arms were early placed, where they remained till 1867, when they were removed to the new All Saints Church, consecrated that year, and where they are at the present time. That they were brought there by the Rev.

ARMS OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN ALL SAINTS CHURCH, ST. ANDREWS, N. B.

Mr. Andrews from Wallingford, Connecticut, rests on an undisputed tradition; and that they were there in the very early years after his arrival is proved by a vote of the Corporation of the parish in 1793, which designates the place they were to occupy on the walls of the church. This vote and the tradition completely harmonize, and leave no doubt as to the origin of these Arms. They are in themselves exceedingly interesting.

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They are carved in wood, gilded and brilliantly painted, and although very ancient are in excellent preservation. They belong to the period of William and Mary, and are the Arms of those sovereigns. They differ in no respect from those of the Stuart family, except that they bear, on an escutcheon of pretence, the Lion of Nassau, introduced by William of Orange, who became William III. of England.[1]

ARMS OF WILLIAM AND MARY, IN CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

The Royal Arms which were displayed in Christ Church, Philadelphia, before the Revolution, are still extant, and may now be seen over the door in the vestry-room of that Church. They were placed at first midway on the wall of the south gallery, over the pew occupied by the Governors of the Prov-

[1] The evidence in regard to these Arms has been obtained largely through Henry Osburn, Esq., of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, who kindly sent me a photograph from which our illustration has been made. Mr. Marshall Andrews, a grandson of the Rev. Samuel Andrews, confirms the tradition that the Arms were brought from Wallingford by his grandfather. I find that no record or tradition of these Arms while they were in Connecticut remains, and indeed it could hardly be expected. If they were in St. Paul's Church, Wallingford, and were removed at the outbreak of the Revolution, and concealed for the period of ten years, the memory of them would probably soon pass away.

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ince. They were removed for safety, it is said on the afternoon of July 4, 1776. They are carved in wood; in size are eighteen inches by twelve and a half. The escutcheon is elliptical in form, with its greatest diameter four inches and its smallest three. The surface of the shield is convex. In the first and fourth quarters the royal insignia are the lions of England and the *fleurs de lis* of France displayed quarterly. In the second quarter is the lion rampant of Scotland, and in the third is the harp of Ireland. In the centre, on an escutcheon of pretence, is the lion rampant of Nassau. The shield is surrounded by a badge on which is the motto of the Order of the Garter established by Edward III. in 1334, namely, *Honi soit qui mal y pense;* and on a scroll at the base are the words, *Dieu et mon droit*, adopted by King Richard I. in 1198, and used mostly by English sovereigns to the present day.[1] Above the escutcheon is an open but barred helmet on which rests a crown, with indications that it was once surmounted, as is usual, by a lion, which has since been torn away. The supporters are decorated with the customary mantling. The lion has beneath his feet the rose of England, and the unicorn the thistle of Scotland. On the scroll at the base is a monogram in which W. and M. are skilfully combined. These Arms are by no means in a good state of preservation. Some parts of the supporters and mantling have disappeared. This may have been caused in part by rough usage; but it is probable that during the period of their concealment after the Revolution, they were exposed to dampness, which weakened or destroyed the fibre of the wood, and left it to crumble away. The surface of the shield is very much frayed, and some parts of the insignia are nearly obliterated. But it will be plainly seen, from the illustration here presented, that they are the Arms of William and Mary, and consequently were made some time between 1689 and 1694. The monogram combining the letters W. and M. plainly indicates that they were made before the death of Mary, which occurred in 1694.[2]

[1] When Richard Cœur de Lion was besieging a town in Normandy, in the year 1198, he gave as a parole, "Dieu et mon droit," in reference to his claim to the place which had been taken without "right" by the King of France. Having gained a victory, he adopted this motto, which is still used as an accessory in the English Arms.

[2] I am indebted for valuable information in relation to these Arms to Charles Henry Hart, Esq, and to the Rector of Christ Church, the Rev. Edward

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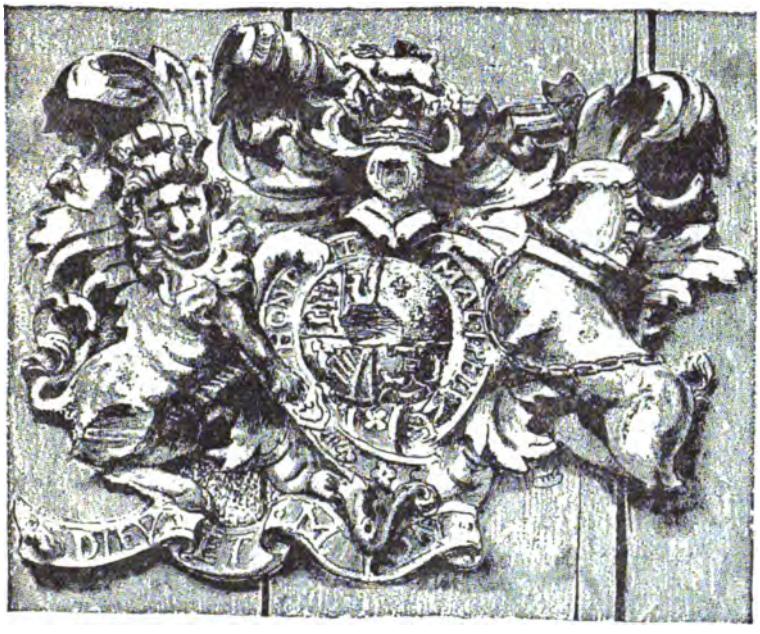
The Massachusetts Historical Society has in its possession the Royal Arms displayed, in colonial times, on the Province House in Boston. They are carved in a soft wood, probably pine, and rest upon a panel enclosed by a frame also elaborately carved and gilded. The escutcheon is but five inches in diameter, and is a semi-globe, on which are the quarterings of the Arms of the House of Hanover. The insignia are carved in relief; the shield is encircled by a garter, on which



ROYAL ARMS FORMERLY ON THE OLD PROVINCE HOUSE IN BOSTON.

are the words, *Honi soit qui mal y pense;* and on a scroll beneath is the motto, *Dieu et mon droit.* Over the shield is an open helmet, crowned, surmounted by a lion.

The supporters, the Lion and Unicorn, are surrounded by a rich display of mantling. These Arms bear the marks of rude treatment, which they probably received when they

A. Foggo, D.D., for a photograph, and to Mr. Edwin S. Balch, of Philadelphia, for a pencil sketch of the Arms, which greatly aided me in deciphering the insignia, which had become very indistinct.

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were torn from their fastenings on the Province House. The illustration which we here give presents them in their present imperfect condition. The apex of the semi-globular shield has been cleft off, but fortunately the cleavage has left the insignia intact.

The supporters are badly mutilated. Of the lion and unicorn several legs, and the head and tail of the latter, are wanting, as likewise the head of the lion surmounting the crowned helmet. A part of the scroll at the base has disappeared, carrying with it the word *droit*.

The history of these Arms is somewhat indistinct. They came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society many years ago; and with them the tradition, which we think has never been disputed, that in colonial times they were displayed on the Province House in Boston.

The Royal Arms which for many years were displayed in the Council Chamber in the Old State House in Boston still exist, and are carefully preserved in Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick. They came into the possession of Trinity Church somewhat more than a hundred years ago. The story of their exit from Boston, and by what means they came to find a permanent home at St. John, did not survive the generation of the Revolutionary period. Plausible theories as to the origin of these Arms, resting upon inadequate proof, have not been wanting; and some of them have, from time to time, found their way into print. But as none of these theories have been established by any positive evidence, they need not here be recited. Documents have of late come to light, which leave upon the question no room for doubt.

On the evacuation of Boston on the 17th of March, 1776, Ward Chipman and Edward Winslow, graduates of Harvard College and educated to the law, accompanied the British Army to New York. After the close of the war they settled in New Brunswick, where they passed the remainder of their lives. Both became distinguished in that Province; both were Judges of the Supreme Court, and were at different times acting governors of the Province.

In the winter of 1785 Edward Winslow was at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Ward Chipman had taken up his abode in St. John, New Brunswick. In a letter of Mr. Winslow to Mr. Chipman, on the 16th of January, 1785, he says, "Give

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my old Custom House seal to Mr. Leonard, and tell him I 'll forward the *famous carv^d Coat of Arms* by the first conveyance from Halifax."

A subsequent letter of Mr. Winslow to Mr. Chipman, which I here give entire, and which I copied from the original, refers more fully to the same subject: [1] —

HALIFAX, 25th March, 1785.

MY DEAR FELLOW, — By the schooner Halifax — Packet — Capt. Fullerton, I send a small assortment of stationery, per Invoice, which I hope will reach you in good order. If this vessel arrives before Mr. Deblois don't suspect me of inattention or breach of promise, by him I will write fully & freely. He will set off for New Brunswick in a few days.

In the box with your stationery is a venerable Coat of Arms which I authorize you to present to the Council Chamber, or any other respectable public Room, which you shall think best intitled to it. They (Lyon & Unicorn) were constant members of the Council at Boston — (by mandamus) — ran away when the others did — have suffered — are of course Refugees & have a claim for residence at New Brunswick.

Blowers acquaints me that he ships A Quantity of Blank-Books for Mr. Odell so that there can be no occasion for my sending any.

Cordially yours ED. WINSLOW.

WARD CHIPMAN, ESQ.

From this letter it is plain that these Arms had formerly been in the old Council Chamber in Boston, where they had been "constant members;" that they left Boston with the "Refugees," and as such had "a claim for residence at New Brunswick." Having left Boston with the refugees and British army, they appear to have found their way to Halifax, and subsequently to St. John, with the direction that they be put up in such public room as Mr. Chipman might think entitled to them. The only public room in the infant town of St. John at that time was in a temporary building belonging to the newly formed parish of Trinity Church. In this building

[1] This letter was found by Mr. Joseph Lawrence, President of the Historical Society of New Brunswick, among the papers of the late Chief Justice Chipman, the son of Judge Ward Chipman, to whom it was addressed. I am indebted to G. Herbert Lee, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the New Brunswick Historical Society, for the loan of the original letter, from which this copy was made. I desire to express my thanks both to Mr. Lawrence and to Mr. Lee for the assistance they have given me in this investigation.

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all the public business of the town and of the Province was transacted. The courts held their sessions in it. Ward Chipman, to whom the Arms had been sent, was at that time Solicitor-General, Recorder of the City, and Advocate-General of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. In all these capacities his presence and official work were in this room. It was the appropriate place for the Royal Arms; and that they were placed there, and given to the Parish of Trinity Church, plainly appears from the following record of the proceedings of the Vestry, of which Judge Chipman was at the time a member:[1]—

8th of Decr. 1791. Resolved that the old church be sold: price £200. That the bell, organ, and Kings Coat of Arms be removed from the old church to Trinity Church.

The Royal Arms were accordingly placed on the wall of Trinity Church, over the pew occupied by the Governor of the Province. They remained in that place until the Church was burned in the great fire at St. John in 1877, when they were happily rescued,[2] and are now on the walls of the new Trinity Church in that city.

At what time these Arms were set up in the Council Chamber in the Old State House in Boston cannot be accurately determined. They belong, as may be seen by the representation of them which we here present,[3] to the House of Hanover, and might have been made as early as 1714, at the beginning of the reign of George I. The Arms of the House of Hanover were similar from 1714 to 1801, when a

[1] For the facts cited here, I am indebted mostly to Joseph Lawrence, Esq., of the New Brunswick Historical Society.

[2] After the church was in flames, Mr. Francis M. Hazen entered it and removed the Arms to a place of safety. I made a personal inspection of these Arms two or three days before the old church was burned, and likewise at a later day after they were removed to the new Trinity Church.

[3] I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Brigstock, Rector of Trinity Church, St. John, for the photograph from which this illustration was made.

Although the illustration is smaller, this coat of arms is in fact larger than any of those illustrated in the preceding pages, as may be seen by the following statement: The escutcheon of this Coat of Royal Arms is circular, and is one foot in diameter; the length of the supporters, the lion and the unicorn, is about two feet each; and the size of the whole, including the mantling, is about three and a half feet. For measurement, see MS letter of G. Herbert Lee, Esq., of St. John, New Brunswick.

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change was introduced by the omission of the French *fleur de lis*, and a consequent rearrangement of the insignia.

In 1747 much of the interior of the Old State House was consumed by fire. From accounts published at the time it appears that everything, the "Records, Books, Papers, Furniture, Pictures of the Kings and Queens, &c., which were in the Council Chamber, the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and the Apartments thereof in that story, were consumed." If at that time there were any Royal Arms in

ROYAL ARMS IN THE OLD STATE HOUSE IN BOSTON BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, NOW IN TRINITY CHURCH, ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK.

the Council Chamber, or in that of the Representatives, they were doubtless destroyed. The Arms in question must therefore have been placed in the Council Chamber, where Edward Winslow informs us "they were constant members of the Council in Boston," subsequently to 1749, when the repairs of the two chambers were completed. In 1773, as appears from the bill of the painter, Mr. Thomas Craft, Jr., the King's Arms in the State House were painted and gilded at an expense of £10. They undoubtedly remained in the Coun-

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cil Chamber until the evacuation of Boston by the British army, when they were taken to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and subsequently, as we have seen, found a permanent resting-place in Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick, where they are at the present time.

NOTE. — Of the great number of Royal Arms in use in the Colonies before the Revolution, only six have come to our knowledge as still extant. Five of them are represented in the foregoing pages, in as near facsimiles as could be obtained. We are not aware that any other representation of any of them exists, either in photograph or engraving. Our cordial thanks are tendered to those who have kindly contributed photographs for our illustrations.

Mr. WOLCOTT alluded to the fact that the equestrian statue of King George in the city of New York, after having been pulled down, was carried to Litchfield, Connecticut, and was buried in the field of Oliver Wolcott, Governor of the State. Being made of lead, it was cast into bullets by his children, and these were distributed among the soldiers, so that it was said that it was returned to his Majesty's troops with the compliments of the men of Connecticut.

Dr. EVERETT, in further illustration of the paper which had been read, said that Union Street was so named to commemorate the union of England and Scotland, and not with any reference to the union of the Colonies.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said: —

Mr. President, — At the January meeting in 1874, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, then President of the Society, communicated a letter from Thomas Danforth to Gov. John Winthrop the younger, dated Cambridge, August 6, 1672. Danforth, then an Assistant of the Colony, had not long before resigned the treasurership of Harvard College, and most of this letter is devoted to the affairs of the College. It was printed in our Proceedings for 1874, in what we now call Vol. XIII. of the First Series of Proceedings, page 235. I only allude to it because it may not be understood why Mr. Winthrop should not at the same time have communicated what I am now about to read; namely, an official letter from the President and Fellows of the College to Gov. John Winthrop the younger, dated only six months earlier. The reason is that this last-named letter has till recently escaped notice. I stumbled on it the other day while in search of something

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else. In describing it as an official letter from the President and Fellows I am perhaps not strictly accurate, as it does not bear the signature of the President, Dr. Charles Chauncy, who was then ill, and died a fortnight later; but it contains a message from him, and is signed by three Fellows. The purport of it is to thank Governor Winthrop for having given the College certain astronomical instruments, and for having furnished elaborate directions for fitting up for use the college telescope. When I read this I remembered the late President Quincy's interest in astronomy, and I thought I should find this matter referred to in his history of the College; but while he carefully commemorates the early benefactions to that institution of Gov. John Winthrop the elder, he says nothing whatever of any gifts to it from Gov. John Winthrop the younger. It then occurred to me to consult the late Professor Bond's Annals of the Observatory, the first volume of which describes the rise and progress of astronomical research at Harvard. Professor Bond, however, does not mention any observations of the heavenly bodies earlier than those of Prof. John Winthrop in 1740, which was nearly seventy years after the period in question. I am led, therefore, to believe that I may have got hold of something new, and I will now read what these three Fellows had to say on the subject: —

For the Right Worshipfull John Winthrop Esq^r. Governo^r of Connecticot Colony. Deliver w^th Care.

CAMBRIDGE, Febr: 2. 1671 [2].

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, — Wee cannot but thankfully acknowledge that great & undeserved love & respect manifested towards us in that large & learned letter sent unto us by M^r Martin, wherein your Worship has been pleased to prescribe many usefull directions to instruct us in our fitting the Telescope for use, according to the rules of art. As alsoe, in sending therewith severall instruments, whereby wee might be enabled to reduce the former precepts into practice.

The eye-glasse sent by M^r Greene we have received in safety. Wee have not as yet had an opportunity of doeing anything considerable with it (the two last nights being cloudy), but wee hope (God willing) to employ it shortly in the service of Urania.

Wee have likewise, Honoured S^r, received the two Drawers, enclosed in a round case of wood for their safer carriage. Wee find upon tryalls that the outwardmost drawer is fitted exactly for the tube, soe that both will be of use unto us. Wee readily graunt that our addition to the tube,

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wherewith it was lengthened, may (& shall) be taken away as uselesse; seing that the drawers will (if need be) adde greater length thereunto. The box cõmitted to the trust of Mr Martin was carefully delivered unto us, inclosed wherein wee received not only a paire of cutting compasses, but alsoe the modell of a supporter, which your Worship was pleased (*proprid manu*) to frame for our instruction.

Honoured Sr, wee have received all the forenamed particulars as a sure witnesse of your unfeigned love to Learning, and a clear demonstration of your hearty desire eminently to promote the same in this schoole of the Prophets. Our reverend President (who has been sickly of late) does present his service to your Worship, and renders you many thankes for that extraordinary care and respect manifested in this case.

Were wee capable of performing any considerable service for your Worship, and thereby of manifesting our sincere gratitude (*gratias agendo*, as the Latines phrase it), wee should acknowledge it as a great kindnesse if you would be pleased to employ us therein.

Hon^rd Sr, craving your pardon for our present boldnesse, and for our giving your Worship the former trouble, wee take leave humbly to present our service & unfeigned respects, and are, Right Worshipfull,

Your much obliged Servants,

ALEX: NOWELL.
JOSEPH BROWNE.
JOHN RICHARDSON.

[Indorsed by Gov. J. W., Jr.: "Mr Alexander Nowell & the other Fellowes of the Colledge. Rec: Feb: 10: 1671."]

From the concluding paragraph of this letter it is evident that there had been some previous correspondence about this telescope, but I can find no trace of it in the Winthrop Papers. That Governor Winthrop had a telescope in Connecticut at least as early as 1664 is known by a letter of his in that year to Sir Robert Moray, of the Royal Society, in which he describes some observations he had taken of the satellites of Jupiter, and incidentally mentions that his telescope was "but a tube of 3 foote & a halfe, w^th a concave eye-glasse."[1] He may have been able to lengthen this tube by inserting what he calls "drawers," but in any case it must have been a small instrument. In a letter of his some six years later, to his friend and correspondent Dr. Benjamin Worsley, of London, he says:

"Be assured, Deare Sir, I seldom look upon the constellations of the heavens, or the planetts, especially Jupiter, with my telescope, or the glorious constellation of Orion, but the most grateful memory of yourself is fresh to my thoughts & soule."

[1] Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. xvi. p. 221.

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It would seem from this that Dr. Worsley must have given him a telescope, perhaps a newer and better one, in which case he might very likely have sent the old one to Harvard. This, however, is mere conjecture. All that the letter I have read clearly establishes is, that two hundred and seventeen years ago, at the beginning of 1672, the College possessed some sort of telescope, and was endeavoring to set it up and use it, with Governor Winthrop's assistance. However rude and imperfect may have been the astronomical observations which resulted from this undertaking, it cannot fail to be regarded as an interesting circumstance that at that early period, when Isaac Newton, then a young professor at English Cambridge, was engaged in the discoveries which made him famous, three Tutors and Resident-Fellows of a poverty-stricken New England college should have attempted similar researches. A fresh examination of the college records may possibly bring to light some reference to this subject which escaped the attention of President Quincy and Professor Bond. I may add that the body of this letter is in the handwriting of its first signer, Alexander Nowell, who died in the same year, at the age of twenty-seven. Sibley speaks of him as the author of an astronomical pamphlet and the compiler of several almanacs. Joseph Browne, who signs second, was also the compiler of an almanac, and died at the comparatively early age of thirty-two, bequeathing the College one hundred pounds in cash and to the college library "fifty pound in bookes." Mr. Sibley cruelly implies a doubt whether these legacies were ever paid. The third signer, Rev. John Richardson, soon after became minister of Newbury, and long survived his colleagues.

Dr. EVERETT called attention to the fact that the town of Quincy had now become a city, the new charter having gone into operation on the 7th inst.; and Mr. BRADFORD said that this was an event of great importance, as it marked a new departure in many respects from the system which had hitherto prevailed.

Mr. Albert B. Hart, Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1889.

THE stated meeting of the Society took place on the 14th instant, President ELLIS being in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read, and the Librarian made his monthly statement.

Dr. DEANE said, in behalf of the committee appointed at the last meeting, that he had examined several volumes of manuscripts, and wished further time in which to make a report.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., spoke as follows: —

Mr. President, — The communication which until recently I had hoped to make to the Society this afternoon was of a manuscript from the Winthrop Papers which has suffered so much from damp that no one had ever attempted to decipher it, except to ascertain that it bore neither indorsement, date, nor signature. I attacked it with a magnifying-glass and got far enough along to make it clear that it was a contemporary copy of a speech delivered in the English Parliament at some time in the year 1680, during one of those exciting discussions which occurred on the proposal to exclude the Duke of York, afterwards James II., from the succession to the throne. I could not at first find this particular speech in any collection of Parliamentary debates or in any of the numerous volumes which treat of that period, and, being led to hope that by some lucky chance I had got hold of something new, I persevered until I had deciphered and transcribed the whole of it; but, to my chagrin, I then discovered that it was a speech of that famous statesman, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, which he himself had caused to be printed. My labor was thus in vain, and I only allude to it now for two reasons: first, as a passing illustration of the pitfalls which beset the path of the student of colonial history in dealing with what, at first sight, appears to be original material; and second, as an additional evidence of the pains taken by our ancestors here in New England to obtain accurate information of what was going on in the mother country. They had not the advantage of

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daily newspapers, or of Atlantic cables, or of paid professional interviewers, or of the instructive visits of omniscient professors from foreign Universities; but they had friends on the spot who evidently took a great deal of trouble to keep them supplied with *facts*. Take, for instance, this speech on which, as it has turned out, I wasted so much time. It was obviously copied out at length soon after delivery, sent over here without waiting for it to be published; and the well-thumbed condition of the paper shows it must have been freely circulated. Now, if this speech — I mean, of course, a speech of equal public importance by an equally eminent man — had been delivered in our own day, we all know what would have happened. A short, hurried abstract of it, probably containing errors and important omissions, and not improbably garbled by some vindictive foreign-correspondent of opposite political opinions, would have been sent by cable, to form within twelve hours the subject of turgid eulogy or indiscriminating denunciation in the leading columns of the press, and to mould insensibly the appreciation of nine tenths of the best educated persons amongst us. When the speech itself came to hand ten days later, the subject would have lost much of its interest, and no one would have leisure or inclination to read it. It is a well-known fact that, with the exception of a few elderly valetudinarians who frequent the reading-rooms of our large libraries, hardly any one nowadays finds time to peruse the *ipsissima verba* of a European statesman, not even if he be so illustrious a man as Prince Bismarck or Mr. Gladstone. It may sound like a rash assertion, but I believe it to be one that can be substantiated, that, proportionately to the very great difference in population and in facility of communication, there existed in New England at the time this manuscript was sent over, more than two hundred years ago, a more exact and accurate acquaintance with contemporary European politics than exists here at present, with all our boasted education.

To turn to another subject, in a communication which I made to the Society in November, 1884, I took occasion to describe a series of letters addressed to various members of the Winthrop family, between the years 1653 and 1683, by various members of the family of Sylvester, generally known

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as the Sylvesters of Shelter Island, and I intimated that I might furnish extracts from them for the Proceedings. I decided not to do this at that time, however, because I found that Professor Horsford, of Cambridge, at whose request I had had the letters copied, desired to print the whole of them in a volume of biography upon which he was then engaged, and it did not seem to me that they were any of them of sufficient importance to be printed twice. Professor Horsford's mind, however, soon after became engrossed by loftier themes, and the historical researches he had begun by applying to comparatively humble Puritans and Quakers of the seventeenth century became diverted to the heroic Vikings and romantic Sagas of the tenth and eleventh; so that instead of receiving from him, as I expected, a volume of colonial biography, containing, among other things, these Sylvester letters, I found myself the fortunate possessor of a large-paper copy of his "Discovery of America by the Northmen." He tells me that the first-named work is still in an early stage of preparation and may never be completed. It has therefore been suggested to me by several persons who are interested in these letters, to carry out my original purpose of submitting them to the Publishing Committee, which I am now about to do, and I will leave it to them to print as much or as little of them as they may see fit.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER[1] TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

In Shelter Island, y^e^ 8^th^ of Aug^st^ 1653.

M^r^ John Wintrop,

Most Honnored S^r^, — With my cordiall respeckts I humbly salute both y^u^ & your Lady. S^r^ if we had not bin taken by contrarye winds I should have made bould to give y^u^ a visett before my comminge home, and havinge this opertunitie I have made bould to troble y^u^ w^th^ a line. For news I refer y^u^ alltogether unto M^r^ Bruster, whome is y^e^ last that is come from Engl^d^; but by y^e^ next wee shall heare more at large about y^e^ change of Gouem^t^ It is generallie supposed that it will content y^e^ Commonallitie more then if y^e^ Parliam^t^ had continued. The Lord grant that them in p^st^ powre may remidie what hath bin amis in

[1] The brothers Nathaniel, Constant, Giles, and Joshua Sylvester were English merchants who became Quakers. Two of them acquired the estate of Shelter Island, at the east end of Long Island, as early as 1651. Nathaniel Sylvester died there in 1680, leaving by his wife, Griselda Brinley, a number of children, from whom there are many descendants. — Eds.

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y^e^ Parl^t^ and not fall in the same evels, in looking more for selfe then any thing els that may tend to y^e^ good of y^e^ Commonwealth. Worthey S^r^ I should be very glad if it might be my happines once to see you here on our small spot of ground. I have bespoke a bote of 3 tun to be made in y^e^ Bay, w^ch^ when I have I shall make bould to waite on you. S^r^ I render you many humble thancks for your manifould favours reseaved from you at my beinge with y^u^; since w^ch^ it hath pleased God to change my condit^o^ by mariage, in w^ch^, praysed be His name, I finde my selfe very happie, and I hope in God wee may be a comfort unto each other. S^r^ if in any thing I may become servisable unto y^u^, I humblie desire you will be pleased to make use of me, and y^u^ will much ad unto your many favors, of w^ch^ y^u^ hauve made me very sensible; and if I ware in a pres^t^ capacitie, my utmost indeavor should be to testifie my readines. S^r^ I shall not at pres^t^ troble you any further, only with my wive's respeckts unto y^or^ selfe & lady, I humbly make bould to take my leave; w^th^ all subscribinge of my selfe I remain, Most Honnor^d^ S^r^

Yo^r^ very much oblig^d^ & obsarv^t^ sarv^t^ to command,

NATHANIELL SILVESTER.

S^r^ be pleased to honn^r^ me w^th^ y^e^ conveience of y^e^ inclosed to Herford.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e^ Wors^pp^ John Winthrop Esq^r^, these pres^t^, in Pequit.

IN SHELTER ISLANDE, y^e^ 15^th^ of March 1654.

MOST HONNORED S^R^,—With my cordiall respeckts I make bould to salute both you and M^rs^ Winthrop. S^r^ this opertunitie presentinge by Onkus, I have made bould to troble y^u^ with y^e^ inclosed vnto M^r^ Broughton, w^ch^ my humble request is y^u^ wil be pleas^d^ to send forward p^r^ the verie first opertunitie and with one w^ch^ may be carfull of the deliuerie. Manie of my letters of late are not cume to hand, and this letter is of more then ordenarie consiquence. S^r^ p^r^ Good^m^ Parker, whome transported me for Roade Isl^d^ when I was with y^u^, I made bould to troble y^e^ with a letter in w^ch^ was inclos^d^ one for my brother conserninge the sawed pipe-staves, w^ch^ s^d^ letter my desire was might be sent to Giles Hamlin, he then layinge att y^e^ river's mouth. But by my brother's in answere of sever^ll^ of later date, he gives me to understand that he reseived not any by Giles Hamlin, at which I sumewhat wond^r^, in cause y^u^ sent the letter before he was gone. If he was gone and the letter remaininge with y^s^, my desire is y^u^ will send it with y^e^ inclosed to M^r^ Broughton. S^r^ I wonder I have not heard one word conserninge

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the pipe-staue desinge; I was in hope sumethinge might be dune, w^ch^ if made, I would cume over and furuish the people with sume commodities, for I expect the ship suddenly with salt and English goods. I have here in readines 300 tunnes, and my desire is to have a p^r^sell from yo^r^ towne against the next ship, which I hope may be easily acomplish^d^ S^r^ my humble desire is y^u^ wil be pleas^d^ to honn^r^ me with a line aboute the premises. So, cravinge your excuse, I shall make bould humbly to take my leave, withall subscribinge of my selfe with an indeauer ever to remaine, Most Honnor^d^ S^r^,

Y^or^ most humble & obsearvant faithfull sarv^t^,

NATHANIELL SILVESTER.

S^r^ if no opertunitie might pres^t^ in a week's time, my humble request is y^u^ will heire an Expres, and I shall indeavor with thanckfulnes to repaye you.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e^ Wors^pp^ John Winthrop Esq^r^ these pres^t^ in Pequit.

ROADE ISLANDE, 27^th^ of July 1654.

M^r^ JOHN WINTHROP, — Most Honnor^d^ S^r^ & my ev^r^ esteemed Friende, Sal^t^. S^r^ here inclosed I have made bould to send a letter unto my brother and another unto M^r^ Maygatt, w^ch^ I humbly crave may have conveince w^th^ the verie first opertunitie. S^r^ in that to my brother I have advised him aboute sawne pipe-staves, and I haue advised him that, if posible, y^u^ would send him a sample p^r^ Giles Hamlin, w^ch^ if not by him will be by via Boston. My desire is you would honn^r^ Coll^o^ Midleton & my brother with a line aboute y^e^ premises w^ch^ may give incoregem^t^ It^e^ my harttie desire there may be a trade betwixt us. S^r^ my desire is you will be mindfull in procuring some staves to be made by sume of the towne against next yeare; theire pay shall be to theire full contentm^t^. If once you treat with them you wil be able to advise me upon my return to you at Pequit, w^ch^ hope shal be with all expedit^n^ In y^e^ meane whille, S^r^ if I may prove servisable unto you in Boston, honnor me with y^or^ comm^ds^ S^r^ I shall not further inlarge, only with my harttie thancks for y^or^ last and former manifould courtesies, I shall make bould, with my cordiall respeckt unto your selfe & Lady, to take my humble leave & to subscribe my selfe, Most Honnored S^r^

Yo^r^ ev^r^ faithf^ll^ & obsarv^t^ sarv^t^,

NATHANIELL SILVESTER.

S^r^ if y^u^ thinck fitting to advise M^r^ Maygatt with a word about the goodn^e^ of the cattle, it would not doe amis for his incoregm^t^ It con-

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sernes me much to knowe what he will doe in it, before I goe from Boston again. S^r^ be pleased to pres^t^ my kinde respeckts vnto M^ris^ Lake. My brother Coddington pres^ts^ his kinde respeckt to you. *Vale.*

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e^ Wors^pp^ John Winthrop Esq^r^ these pres^t^, in Pequitt. P^r^ M^r^ Giles Silvester.

In Shelter Islande, y^e^ 10^th^ of 8ber 1654.

Most Honnored S^r^, — After my hartie thancks for your last courtesies, I have made bould by y^e^ bearer, my brother, to salute both you and M^ris^ Winthrop by these lines, w^ch^ are likewise to give y^u^ notice th^t^ I have bought y^e^ cattle of M^r^ Russells on your Islande, for w^ch^ I have sent his note, and would willingly have them transported out of hand, if John Packer hath no other ingagem^t^ upon him. And the sooner it is dune the better, by reason y^e^ yeare is passinge away. I hope he will use me favorable for the transportat^n^, it being a good quantitie together, and in regard of his and Stallin's prom^s^ to me when I was on your Island. S^r^ this beinge all to inboulden my selfe, I shall, with my most cordiall respeckts, take my leave, committ^g^ both y^u^ & yo^rs^ to God's protection, and withall subscribinge my selfe, Most Honnored S^r^

Yo^r^ most oblig^d^ & observ^t^ sarv^t^ att comm^d^,

Nathaniell Silvester.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e^ Wors^pp^ John Winthrop Esq^r^ these pres^t^, in Pequitt.

In Shelter Islande, y^e^ 7^th^ of Aprill 1655.

Most Honnored S^r^, — My humble respeckts salute you. S^r^ your courtious lines bearinge date y^e^ 2^d^ of this instant I have reseived, by w^ch^ I vnderstande that y^u^ did not reseive myne by Oncus before y^e^ 30^th^ past, w^ch^ trobles me not a little in regard my letters ware of greater consiquence then ordenarie. His promis was great he would dd^r^ them to y^u^ the verie same day he gott ov^r^, and his passage from hence could not be long. Hereafter I shall reley on him, if occation should pres^t^, accordingly. I wonder much M^r^ Clark did not returne my letter in cause he reseiv^d^ it after M^r^ Hamlin's settinge sayle, but sume people little conseder what lett^rs^ may conserne. I should be glad it might

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cume to hand. I did in part incorege my brother that a good quantitie of pipe-staves might be procured at Pequit, but by yo^rs I find no great incoregm^t; neither can I expect it where mens busenes are so great. S^r I have againe writen vnto my brother conserninge sawed pipe-staves, which if it wil doe accordinge unto o^r form^r discours, and your minde not altered, I thinck it would cause a good trade to your towne. When I reseive an answere I shall make bould to advise y^u with what he shall write. S^r if any would fall upon the desinge in makinge pipe-staves for y^e next yeare, my desire would be to have such quantities as should be agreed on in June come twelve months, to which is a great while, and in cause mens occations ware not over great, that they might after harvest goe aboute makinge of them till March next without much hinder, or unles such a sadd winter should follow that w^ch is past. I little thought to have founde such weath^r in these parts. If it was so in Verginia, it came verie much unexpected, they being used to moderate winters. The difference of that place and this I haue founde verie great, but generallie it is more unhelthie than N: England. The Lord be praysed, we haue in these parts generallie injoyed our helths, and my hopes are it hath bin so with y^u, seeinge no news to y^e contrarie. S^r here inclosed I make bould to send another packett for M^r Broughton, with an inclosed unto my brother, w^ch I most humbly crave may haue conveience p^r the verie ffirst. S^r it is my humble request you will be pleased favoir me with excuse in makinge thus bould with y^u; my remotenes and y^e nessesitie makes me more unsivell than otherwise I durst p^rsume to be, which I crave y^u wil be pleased to consid^r, in w^ch y^u will add much vntoe yo^r vnwearied courtesies bestowed on him whom with humble thanckes makes bould to take his leave, and to subscribe himselfe, Most Honnored S^r

Y^or ever obliged & observ^tt sarv^tt,

Nathaniell Silvester.

S^r My wife and selfe offer o^r due respeckts unto your selfe & desire y^u will be pleas^d to pres^t y^e same unto M^rs Winthrop. My brother Giles pres^ts his humble servis. *Vale.*

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e Worsp^ll John Winthrop Esqr. these p^rs^t, in Pequitt.

In Shelt^r Isl^d, y^e 6^th of 8br., 1655.

Most Honnored S^r, — My humble respeckts salute y^u. S^r y^e occation of making bould with y^u at present is by reason of y^e present

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distemp^{r} of my yongest child, w^{ch} is taken with an extream stoppige in y^{e} nose, in so much as that it is not able to fetch its breth through y^{e} nostrils, w^{ch} dooth disinable y^{e} poore infant to suck, and is not able to eate without great payne, w^{ch} causes the child to falle away exceedingly; and beinge ignorent in givinge of it any thing w^{ch} may cause comfort unto y^{e} child I have made bould humbly to crave your advise, with such means as y^{u} in your discretion may think most fitting. O^{r} greef is great to see the child lay in y^{e} sadd condition w^{ch} it doeth, and heer wee are quite out of y^{e} waye of help. Wherefor S^{r} I hope y^{u} will be pleased to excuse my forwardnes in makinge bould with y^{u}. S^{r} the child is just towe month ould; when it was first borne it was judged to be in good helth by most, but 3 days after it was taken with sore eyes, w^{ch} rune exceedingly, w^{ch} now is over; and the stoppige of y^{e} nose doth continue, so as that we fear y^{e} child may be suddenley strangled, if no means used suddenly. S^{r} if y^{u} please to send me yo^{r} advise or any means for y^{e} child, my desire is y^{u} will send it by M^{r} John Yonge, whome will be att your towne towe or three dayes hense; and in so doinge S^{r} y^{u} exceedingly add unto your manifould cortesies allredie reseived. S^{r} by Ralph Parker I was informed that y^{u} had an Irish wooman w^{ch} y^{u} would willingly part withall; if so, and shee good for to doe any busenes aboute y^{e} house, I will be your chapman if y^{u} pleas to lett me have her resonable, and my indeauor shall be to make you such paym^{t} as may content y^{u} S^{r} be pleased to advise me a word or towe aboute y^{e} same, that so I may know your mynde; for if y^{u} will part wth her & shee fitt for any thinge, I would have her before winter. Nott els att pres^{t} to troble y^{u}. I shall make bould to crave y^{or} excus and in subscrib^{g} my selfe, most Honnored S^{r}

Yo^{r} most faithf^{ll} & obsarv^{tt} sarv^{tt} to com^{d},

NATHANIELL SYLVESTER.

GILES SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the hands of his indeered and truly beloved frind: John Winthrop, these. Att Harfordt or elswhere.

BARBADOS, this 29th of y^{e} $\frac{3}{m.}$ 1658.

JOHN WINTHROP: — In that which is in mortall doe I most deerly salut thee, and my love and life from the pure fountaine of life doth freely flowe unto thee, my deer frind. My earnest desiers to my heavenly father are for thee, that thou maist be preserved and kept free from the enbrewinge of thy hands in the blood of the deer sarvants of the Lord, whose cryes are heard and shall not goe unpunished.

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If thy eye be with the wise man's in his head, w^ch^ head is Christ, then wilt thou be inlightned by it, and stand a wittnes with his Saints for the Lord, yea, and to the Lord, against all such appearances as either would rise, or is risen, to drowne the man child, to quench his spirit, to darken his light, or to deforme his image. Which if thou abideth faithfull to, and steedfast towards God and his truth, this knowe: that thy reward is sure, and thy peace in so doinge can no man take away; but the crowne which is laid up in store for us shall be received. So, in the name and power of the Lord God, my deer frind, goe on as thou hath begune, that thou may finish thy testimony in faithfullnes, that so thou maist retourne with the Ransomed One, and with the songs of Sion and everlasting rejoycinge. Deer frind, since my arivall here have inquired conserninge the stone which is sawed here and find them alltogether unfitt for thy use; they will not beare the fire of our furnaces, much les a blast. Neither is there any stone in this contrey as I cann hear of, but such as will burne to lime. The stone we use for our furnises comes from England. I could send thee a barrell of this contry marll, but at present there is no shipinge belonginge to our parts. It is feared that Giles Hamline hath either mist the Island, or els to be foundert in the sea. I am at present going to take shipinge for England, and by reason of my brother Peter Silvester's parture out of the body I think my stay shall be there some time, to sett things in order and to doe what he did in way of a marchant; unles in obediance to my father, when called forth, I shall leave it to another; for whatever I doe, or undertake, it is with this promise: to stand singall to my God and to doe His will in all things. If I meet with thy sone in England, shall acquaint him howe it was with thee and thy famelie, accordinge to what Amos Richesson acquainted me with when I was at Bostowne last; w^ch^ was the 7^th^ of the $\frac{1}{m}$, and being [*torn*] suffered to refresh my selfe ashore was sent abord the 10^th^ hour in the night and made [*torn*]. I was favourd by theire so doinge, and there contineued till the 13^th^, w^ch^ day we sett saill, so that I could not furnish my selfe with such nessesaries as I stood in need of; but was will^g^ though in a smaler measure to suffer it at theire hands as well as my breathren and sisters have before me. But theire injustice and unrighteouse lawes are seen by it to faver the one & to condemne the other. Our God winketh not at any man's sin, neither is a respect^r^ of persons. If they have executed justice on my breatheren and sisters, then have they by unjustice violated theire lawe by not inflictinge of the same on me; and if they have done justice upon me, then have they used violance with cruelty on my deer bretheren & sisters. which shall not remaine unpunished; and the terrors of the Lord will sease on them, w^ch^ is more than my desire should for ever continue. And if thy son hath freedom to take his abode at my house I shall be free

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to receive him, and to afford him all the helpe and assitance I can possible in every thinge. If I had some of that stone w^ch^ is at thy farme, I would have made a triall and given account of it; I know nothinge but that it may doe, w^ch^ if it doth, it will prove exceedinge benifitiall to thee &c. As for newes, the Sweed and the Dane are at peace, though with the losse of ½ of the Dane contery, besides the Sond, an hard article; so y^t^ the Sweed, if not more modirate then the Duch were to them, will be the ruine of the Duch and quite spoil theire Eastern trade and inrichen themselues by it. A lamentable thinge that men should ruine others to make them selves, as they thincke! Oliver, in his fury, hath desolved the Parliament. Remembr. my deer and tender love to thy wife, and to Elisabeth and Lucy and the rest of thy famelie. I am thy true frind, as in the pure fear of God,

GILES SYLVESTER.

CONSTANT SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

These to my Honoured Frinde, John Winthrop, Govr. of Conetticott Jurisdiction, present.

HONOURED S^r^, — Having by a speciall providence met M^r^ Luce an oportunity, could not but by a line or two returne y^u^ thancks for y^e^ many civillities I received from y^u^ when I was in New England. S^r^ be pleased to accept of a case of such sugars as my plantation doth yeeld, & a little of o^r^ Barbados tarr, as they call it, & some palm oile, w^ch^ is brought us hither from Ginny. I have not els at present, but that I am S^r^

Y^or^ ffrinde & serv^t^ CONSTANT SYLVESTER.

BARBADOS this 6^th^ Apr: 1659.

JOSHUA SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his loving friend, M^r^ John Winthrop, Governor of Herford Colony and Comissioner of the United Colonies, in New Haven.

IN SHELTER ISLAND, the 7 of September 1660.

HONOURED S^r^, — Being att the river's mouth third day last, I delivered a letter to Liu^tt^ Gardenar which I have writte to the Comissioners, w^ch^ hee promissed faithfully to deliver them without fail with his owne hand upon theire first sitting now in New [*illeg.*], w^ch^ if hee

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should have failed in answering my desire, and being informed that you are one of the Comissioners, my request is you will so farr pleasure me as to demand the same of him and cause it to be read amongst you when you shall be assembled together; it being of some passages concerning Shelter Island and others since my coming heither, and how some persons are active to molest our right in this island and so are going to doe otherwise then they would be done unto, and theire shamlesnes is such that theye would have the Comissioners to joyne with them in theire wicked interprises. But the Lord, who abhors the counsell and inttent of the wicked foxe, will preserve you all, and give you wisdom to act nothing but what may tend to His glory, the fruits of which will produce to you a peace and hounour. So committing you with a Christian salutation to the protection of the Almighty God and remaine

Your loving friend, JOSHUA SYLVESTER.

GILES SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To his Honnored Friend, John Winthrop Esq^r. this, att New-London or Elsewhere. By Daniell Lanne.

M^R JOHN: WINTHROP:

DEER S^R, — Yo^rs have receiv^d and the inclosed deliver^d. Co^ll Midleton, whose smooth carriage and tong to me y^e know, seemed all love and hart. It cannot but be strange to hear, under pretence of that, how villanos he hath ben to me; the like I believe cannot be parreleld. I yett never was obliged to him for a ffarthen, but he owes me at this time £374: monies lent him, besides what I stand ingadged for him, w^ch is upward of a thousand pound. This secret viper for a long time hath watched an upertunity privatly to give me a ffatall blowe. Had I not had truth and innosency on my side, his strock would have ben so; but y^t preserved me, though I for a while suffered greviously, both in name, person and estat, more then I am able to express and loath to troble y^e with. And now he sees y^t he must fall under it, would faine putt it upon my brother and cleer himselfe! No, no, his wickedness is two, two great and public for to pass it by, neither cann I if I would, except I violate truth. and wrong my self, w^ch I shall not doe, but lett it ffall as heavy vpon him as his crime desarves, w^ch I am shewer is more then he cann bear. The Lord hath beyond my desart delivered me through them all, for w^ch I ever desire to praise and magnefy His holly name. At present I am with my brother Constant, who owes me, as by y^e accounts delivered

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him, besides commiss. and my halfe of y^e^ Plantation: two thousand one hundered and twelve pound. And that wrech Midleton reported in London all over and on y^e^ Exchange that I did owe my brother ffive thousand pound, and prest people to whom I was bound for him, and others, to fall vpon me for paym^t^, saying y^t^ my brother would withdraw his comissions from me, wherfor if they were not paid befor, they should never be paid; — after this indeavored to gitt me into prizon. Barbados rings of his wikedness allready, and so shall England shortly; for, the Lord permitting, I intend for London againe y^e^ latter end of this next month, ffrom whence, as upertunity sarves, y^u^ shall hear as often ffrom me as conveniance will give leave. By a passingar in M^r^ Lann's vessell I understand that John Scott is in limbo for treason and other hainess crimes.[1] I also understand how he abuseth me. What reason he hath thereunto, and how much behoulden he is to me, y^u^ verry well know. It is no wonder that remarkable judgments befalls such reprobats. Had I him in England, I should make him stand in y^e^ pillary befor y^e^ Exchange, and have his ears. Just at his going away I arrested him; then he would seem to deny a bond he gave me for a parsell of cloath he had of me, w^ch^ bond y^e^ rech, before Co^ll^ Midleton, Major Gatherson and Doctor Dawbry, confest the owing me more mony, gave me a new bond for y^e^ hole, w^ch^ is £104: for w^ch^ Maj^r^ Gatherson is bound, who also is a prizonar in y^e^ King's Bench. So I am not only like to be horribely abused, but also to lose my mony; but all men knowing him and me, his words are of no force. I hope the Lord will not leave me so as to commit any wickedness, but espetially from such premeditate growne ffrauds as I know him gilty of. The Lord forgive him, and preserve me pure for himself, and y^t^ my hart may not goe after any thing but what is agreable to him and just amongst men! The blankets, ruggs, and uphoustery ware y^u^ write for, he also had of me before yo^rs^ come to hand. I hear that there are Commissioners gone ffor y^or^ parts, I suppose they cannot reach yo^r^ Pattend. The Parliam^t^ hath voated a warr between England and Holland, to w^ch^ the King will give his mind in writing; if such a thing as warr should be, it will prove sade, espetiall to poor England, whose groanse dayly increese more & more. We must commit all unto y^e^ Lord, continew fervent in prayer, and w^th^out seasing offer up our supplications; never more need than now, though it is nessesary allways to doe so. My Lord Willowbie hath so plag'd the Islanders w^th^ severall exactions that he is loath'd by them; great complaints are gone for England against him, so that I belive he will not stand long. Indeed, he hath not only benn cruell, but also verry unjust in most what he hath done. I desire as often as w^th^ conveniance

[1] For an account of the notorious Capt. John Scott, see 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. vi. pp. 65–74.

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may be, to hear ffrom you. The Ginny, or Ryall Company, labor to ingross the whole trade of Barbadoes to themselves; if so, as here was news, they allready haue effected, then what will become of poor New Ingland, and their trade? I suppose you have heard y^t^ soon after your departure my deer and honnorable mother was taken into glory. Shee did peaceably and willingly take her leave of us, and not in y^e^ least affriten'd at death, but went away as a lamb. I hope that all yo^r^ ffamylie are well. S^r^ please to remember me kindly to M^ris^ Winthrop, M^r^ Fits: M^r^ Waite, M^ris^ Lucy, and all the rest of y^or^ ffamely. S^r^ though I cann comunicat my particular affairs to you, I will not to any other except particular staid ffriends, w^ch^ I know but ffew; and therfor desire you to keep it to your selfe. W^th^ y^e^ tender of my harty love and sarvice to yo^r^ selfe, I take leave, committing y^u^ and yours to y^e^ aboundant grace and love of God, and y^t^ in his holly armes he will proteckt and preserve you from all the defilements, pure ffor him selfe; and so I remaine, my deer friend,

Y^or^ indeer^d^ & ffaithfull affectio: lov^e^ ffriend to serve y^u^,

Giles Sylvester.

Barbados, 28^th^ June 1664.

GILES SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To y^e^ Worshipf^ll^ John Winthrop Esq^r^, this, p^r^ inclosure.

M^r^: John: Winthrop:

Deer Friend, — The 28^th^ June by M^r^ Lane I gave y^u^ an account of my being here; also conserning y^e^ unhuman, indeed unheardof parfidies of John Scott, whose lying and wicked corses, as I have all along traste him in, if he escaps y^e^ gallos this bout and repents not, will att last come to it with shame and gilt. To my knowledg, he hath desarved it long since upon y^e^ account he was accus'd of. If ever he comes to England, I will make him know that he hath infinitly abused the innosent, a bare acknowledgment shall not sarve his turne. If he doth not come to England, I shall ffollow him by letter of attorny and inpower them who know his wikednes and my civillities to him. O wreched wrech, not worthy to be seen among sivell men! His wickedness reacheth up to heaven. One whom I have ffed with bread, and who, by my clemency to him, owes me to this day upon bond one hundered & four pounds. Had I not an other bound w^th^ him for it, I would not deeme it worth tenn farthens. If y^e^ gallos hath him not, he will rot whilse he liveth. Happly y^u^ may thinck y^t^ I am in passion. No, beleive me, I speake w^th^ greeff and in

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sobernes. S^r please to vindicate me in whatsoever he hath abused me; it is wrongfully, as I am able to prove by Co^ll Midleton, Majo^r Gatherson, Doctor Dawtry, & severall other parsons of qualletie. Please, also, to show every one, if y^u thinck good, what I write. I am within a fourtnight bound for London again, to regaine what I lost and injoy what fformerly I did. S^r M^r Tho: Revell tould me y^t M^r Richbell was in election to gitt possession of M^r Revell's lands for want of his presence, but I hope better of yo^r contry; for M^r Richbell tould me y^t M^r Revell had bought y^e land, and y^t he had benn in treaty w^th y^e Indians before M^r Revell, and therefore desired M^r Revell y^t it might be between them. M^r Revell denying him, he said he would seeke to surcomvent him, as now it seems he is about, if not accomplished. He tould me he would. I intreat y^u to prevent him & if he hath, to give M^r Revell a new hearing, y^t he may injoy his owne, as it is meete every man should. What I say I speake as in y^e presence of God, and shall be ready at any time to depose y^e same. What y^u doe in this, beleive me, S^r I shall take as done to my selfe. I am not in y^e least consernd, ffurther than I judge M^r Revell an honnest man. S^r, God sending me safe to England, you will haue a ffull account of all things. I pray lett me hear from y^u vpon all occations; and so, my ffriend, I comitt y^u and all yours to Him who is in power, and deerly salutt y^u, M^rs Wintrop, M^r Fitts, M^r Waite, M^rs Lucy, & y^e rest of your famely, with prayers of God's blessing vpon y^u and all y^e Israell of God who love y^e Lord Jesus in cinserety; and so I remaine, deer S^r

Y^or ever ffaithf^ll lov^g ffriend in truth,

GILES SYLVESTER.

BARBADOS, the 16^th of 7^br 1664.

S^r, if y^u recolect yo^r memory, y^u may remember y^t I tould y^u in London what I write about M^r Revell & M^r Richbell, and how I prevented M^r Richbell of a bargen for said lands, as knowing it justly to be M^r Revell's. *Vale.*

GILES SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

M^R JOHN WINTHROP:

INDEERED & LOVING FRIEND, — Meeting w^th opertunity could not omitt to aquaint y^u w^th y^e state of o^r Nation in England, w^ch is exceeding deplorable and sad. Y^e last sommer there dyed upward of 250,000 of the Plage, and ab^t 20,000 for want of bread. As to y^e warr, there is no licklyhood of peace, and trade we have none. Though y^e Dutch dare not appear abroad, yett there are severall

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privateers out, w^ch doe us great prejudice. It is thought that y^e sickness will be as hott this sommer as it was y^e last, and I feare a great famin will accompany it. Hay was sould at £5 10^s p load, and we have had noe rainse all this winter nor y^e spring. What there may be, God knows. Y^e Lord be marcyfull to poor England! But all these things are not considered, and parsecution is as much as ever it was. I am now bound for y^e Barbados from this place. If y^u meete w^th an opertunity to Barbados, I pray lett me hear from you, and I desire y^u to convay the inclosed w^th all speed to my brother Nathaniell, knowing not any ffriend I may more confide in then yo^r selfe. So w^th my sarvice to y^u, M^ris Winthrop, M^r Fits, M^r Waite, M^ris Lucie, and the rest of yours, I take leave and am, deer S^r

Yo^r ffaithf^ll ffrind to com^d,

GILES SYLVESTER.

MADERA, this 30^th of May 1666.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

This for John Winthrop, Governo^r of Conetticot Collony, in Herford. P^r Isaac Arnold.

IN SHELTER ISLAND, y^e 9^th of y^e 3^m. 1674.

MOST WORTHY AND MUCH INDEARED FRIEND, — I have made bould to returne thee heartie thancks for thy courtious lines, which I received p^r my sonn Giles, and for y^e joyfull and happy newes which thou wert pleased by y^e same to communicate unto me, of y^e peace concluded on betwixt England and Holland. The Lord grant it may be of continuence, and us hearts to prayse his holy name for this his goodness in putting a stopp to y^e sadd issue of blood which hath bin occationed by the unhappy difference which was betwixt them, as also for that to this day he hath bin pleased so wonderfully to preserve and protect this country from that ruen and destruction which by the ennimie was threatned. I should be glad to see the day in which I might be capeable of doeing anything worth thyn or y^e Collonys takeing notice of, as p^r thyn thou art pleased to intimate; but fearing my capasitie will never reach thereunto, let me crave excuse of you both, in that I have notwithstanding bin so bould as to receive those favoirs which so liberally from time to time have bin bestowed vpon me; and be pleased to accept of my prayers to y^e Lord, which are that he will be pleased to reward you a thousand fould for all y^e love and care which you have had for the preservation of me and my familie in these perrilous times, and also that he will still continue his protection over

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thy selfe and whole Collony against all ennimies whatsoever. I would gladly haue taken this opertunitie of accompanying my naighbours, that so I might have injoyed y^e^ great desires I had to give thee a visit, but am prevented of y^e^ same by reason of y^e^ distemp^r^ which continues vpon me. All my joynts remaining very stiff, espetially my armes, and in hopes to remove the cause, have this spring taken six times of thy *rubula*, which, although as yet hath given me little ease, I am not out of hopes but that it may prove better with me when the weather proves more constant and warme then it hath don heathertoe; and if the same failes me, it's my fear I shall be forced to crave thy further help. Dear Friend, that so I may not prove burthensome, I shall, with the remembrence of myn and my wife's indeared love and heartie desires of thy helth and eternall happynesse in y^e^ Lord, take leave and indeavor ever to remaine

Thy most faithf^ll^ & true heart^d^ friend,

NATHANIELL SYLVESTER.

Be pleased y^e^ p^r^sent o^r^ dear respeckt unto thy sonn John, & daughters Martha & Ann.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR.,[1] TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

P^r^sent to his honoured ffriend, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London.

SHELTER ISLAND, Aug. 4^th^ 1674.

S^r^, — As I was contriving & wishing for an opp^r^tunity to give you fresh assurances of my service, this bearer came very fortunately to deprive me of that care, but with such a hast that I have but just halfe a minute of time, & therefore can only assure you that if you will pardon y^e^ brevity of this, the next shall be a large booke; which shall tell you how much I am S^r^

Your reall ffreind and servant,

GILES SYLVESTER.

Be pleased, S^r^ if you have any newes, to impart it to us, & especially if you know any intelligence concerning New Yorck. All your ffriends in these parts expect when you will obleidge them w^th^ y^or^ p^r^sence & good company. I hope ere it be long you 'll favour us with y^e^ same, which if you please to doe, what we so often discource of might be without y^e^ least trouble effected. *Vale.*

[1] Sŏn of Nathaniel Sylvester.

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GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored ffreind, Maj^r John Winthrop in New London
P^r A: Q: D: P.

SHELTER ISLAND, October y^e 30^th 1674.

HONORED SIR, — The desire I have to p^rserve the interest I promise my selfe to have in yo^r favour, enticeth me to make use of all opp^rtunityes to advantage my selfe therein, — although y^e trouble I give you by often p^rsenting you with my letters needs a greater excuse than I can make, but I rely upon yo^r goodness for a pardon, since their intent is only to confirme to my selfe y^e assurance of yo^r freindship, which I am not a little ambitious of. It would make my lett^r a large booke if I should tell you how much your p^rsence hath been expected heer, & what a univ^rsall sadness hath possest your friends for want of y^e same; & if you doe not make us happy with yo^r company wee shall be all in mourning shortly. Be pleased to p^rsent my humble s^rvice to Major Paulmes & his lady, & y^e [*torn*] of a thousand thanks for all former kindnesses. I will trouble you noe further than to intreat you to beleive y^t I want words to tell you how much I am S^r

Yo^r reall ffriend & humble s^rvant,

GILES SYLVESTER.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

This for his Most Worthy Friend, John Winthrop, Governo^r of Conetticutt Collony, in Herford. P^r George Tyler.

IN SHELTER ISLAND, y^e 27^th of y^e 2^m. 1675.

MOST WORTHEY & INDEARED FRIEND, — The dayly sence I have of those manifould and never to be forgotten sevilities which from time to time I have received from thy noble and tender heart, constraines me p^r a few lines dearly to salute thee, and to assure thee it to be my breathings to the Lord thou maist have them turned all into blessings, and that those days which through his Divine Providence he shall be pleased still to grant thee, may be accompained with Heavenly joy. As also that at their expiration thou maist be received by him and plast amongst his Saints. Upon the Governo^r of New York's arivell I went to congratulate y^e same, hopeing withall to have found the Dutch Gouerno^r there; but mist of him, being newly (with his souldiers) gone aboard of a States man of warr, where I was ernestlie invited to give him a visit, but durst not hazard to venture my feet vpon such a flotie foundation. My bond he left with Bayard his

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Secret^r^, with order to receive the remainder. Conserning which having some discours w^th^ Governo^r^ Andross, he was pleased to promise that said Bayard should not molest me, notwithstanding his confidence to recover the same. What y^e^ issue thereof will be, I suppose this summer will further manifest. I little expected to have met w^th^ those sevilities from the Governo^r^ which he hath been pleased to favoir me withall; for which providence of the Lord, and in begitting that love in thy bosum and o^r^ friends in Herford to meewards in time of distres, it 's the desires of my soule he inable me to prays his name for evermore. Haveing great desires, with my wife, to see thy face and to make o^r^ personall acknowledgement for those obligations wee lay vnder, it 's our intention (the Lord permitting) this summer to give thee a vizit. And so, dear friend, craveing pardon for these my familier expressions, desiring thee withall to beleeve them to flow from a bosum which is full of upright love to thyselfe & whole familie, and that o^r^ reall esteem of thee is such that thy name is like a good savor to us and our children, I shall add no further but that, with presentation of myn and my wifes unfained respeckts unto thyselfe and daughters, I make bould to take leave, and to assure thee that it shall be my indeavor I may be found w^th^ integritie of heart ever to remaine,

Thy most indeared & faithf^ll^ friend,

NATHANIELL SYLVESTER.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his honored ffriend, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent. P^r^ M^r^ Piggin.

SHELTER ISLAND, March 1^st^ 167⅔.

HONO^R^D S^R^, — Although I had need to take a twelve months time to contrive how to beg a pardon for not paying my respects to you (ere now) in a lett^r^, yett I doubt not the good success of this (though scribled in half a minute) when I shall tell you that this is y^e^ first opp^r^tunity that hath p^r^sented since I saw you last; when though it was my fortune to tarry one day in harbour, waiting the pleasure of the wind, yet I made it my buisness to wait on you, as it hapned when you were gone abroad; which if yo^r^ man Jeffry did not informe you of, I am y^e^ less beholden to him & shall take more time to give you a large account of how much I was concerned about it. The Justice & my selfe doe intend for Boston next week, aft^r^ my returne from whence I shall make it my first buisness to kiss yo^r^ hands & to tell you how much I am S^r^

Yo^r^ reall friend & servant, G. SYLVESTER.

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GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d ffriend, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent.

S^o^ HOLD, June 7^th^ 1676.

HON^R^D S^R^, — To endeavour to make an excuse for my selfe would be to justifye my selfe in a crime, for y^e^ expiation of w^ch^ no less punishment would serve than a banishment from yo^r^ good company, were I to plead my cause before any oth^r^ than so generous a p^r^son as yo^r^selfe. Tis this consideration that hinders me from waiting on you till I am sure of yo^r^ pardon; & I hope you will believe y^t^, had I been att home, I would have p^r^sented my s^r^vice to you in a lett^r^, or kissed yo^r^ hands ere now. I promise my selfe y^e^ fav^r^ of a line from you p^r^ this op^r^tunity, w^ch^ shall be counted a great happiness by, S^r^

Yo^r^ reall friend & serv^t^, G. SYLVESTER.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d ffriend Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent.
P^r^ Cp^t^ Young.

SOUTHHOLD, July 14^th^ 1676.

SIR, — This is y^e^ first op^r^tunity since my returne from New York to dispatch y^e^ inclosed to you; w^ch^ I was desired to send w^th^ speed, & I had sent an Indian on purpose, but that these troublesome times would have caused a dislike of it. I gave you y^e^ trouble of a lett^r^ p^r^ M^r^ Saunders, but have not been so happy as to hear of yo^r^ reception of it. I hope you will not forgett yo^r^ friends, & I promise my selfe this will find bett^r^ success, since y^e^ use it may be of to cover y^e^ inclosed may in some measure excuse my trouble of it. I have but half a minute of time to beg y^e^ continuance of yo^r^ friendship & to tell you y^t^ I glory in y^e^ title of S^r^

Yo^r^ reall friend & serv^t^ G. SYLVESTER.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d friend, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent.

SOUTH-TON, March 9^th^ 167$\frac{4}{5}$.

HON^R^D S^R^, — Haveing but halfe a minutes warning of this op^r^tunity, I can only tell you that I have sent yo^r^ book (this being the first since I wrote to you last) & returne you a thousand thancks for y^e^ use of y^e^

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same. I hope although I was not soe diligent in y^e^ returning of it as I should have been, however you will not thinck but that I should have been very carefull to p^r^forme y^e^ same. S^r^ pray have a favourable opinion of me concerning this, till I may be so fortunate as to see you, & then shall make it my business to tell you how much I am, S^r^,

Yo^r^ reall friend & s^r^vant,

G. SYLVESTER.

Cap^t^ Nichols nor M^r^ Knapton are come down from York, but Cap^t^ Willet, M^r^ Leet, M^r^ West, M^r^ Blagg, w^th^ y^e^ rest of y^r^ company p^r^sent their service to you & are at this p^r^sent time drinking yo^r^ health.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO WAIT WINTHROP.

To Cap^t^ Waite Winthrop, in Boston, p^r^sent. P^r^ M^r^ Philips.

SHELTER ISLAND, Aug^st^ 19^th^ 1677.

S^R^, — The occasion of my giveing you y^e^ trouble of this is that haveing received two lett^r^s from Cap^t^ Salisbury, earnestly intreating me to send him a draught of a scutcheon borne by y^e^ name of Salisbury, w^ch^ he chanced to have the sight of in Gwillim whilst I had y^e^ p^r^usall of it; but haveing returned y^e^ same to y^r^self cannot pleasure him, unless you will please to fav^r^ me w^th^ a copy of y^e^ same, mentioñg its col^rs^, p^r^ this bearer, who returns shortly. I hope, S^r^ you will not faile to answer my request to you for this fav^r^, since he wants y^e^ same to compare w^th^ his owne, lately sent to him from his sist^r^ in England. S^r^ I will not trouble you any further, but beg p^r^don for this; returning you many thancks for those form^r^ kindnesses you have shown to

Yo^r^ friend & s^r^vant,

G. SYLVESTER.

If there be any crest mentioned be pleased likwise to insert it. My humble s^r^vice to the two Ladyes.

NATHANIEL SYLVESTER TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

This for Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New-London, or Fisher's Island.

IN NEW YORK, y^e^ 5^th^ of y^e^ $^{8}_{m}$o. 1677.

MAJ^R^ JOHN WINTHROP:

DEAR FRIEND, — Great was my ambition to haue acquainted thee, before my coming from Shelter Island, how that Gouerno^r^ Andross, p^r^

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those obligeing lines I receiued a little before from him, did with manifestation of great affection present his respeckts vnto thee, with much desire to see thee here. And y^e^ Governo^r^ since my coming here acquainting me againe of y^e^ great desire he hath to injoy thy company here, w^ch^ p^r^ the bearer he would haue signified, but y^e^ Court being sett and the vessell vpon setting sayle, was prevented: however, I could doe no less, being constrained through that love w^ch^ remains flowing in my bosum to theewards, than to signifie the same to thee, by reason of y^e^ honnorable respeckt I find y^e^ Gouerno^r^ to haue for thee; not doubting, considering thy generous spirrit, but that thou wilt take the opertunitie with y^e^ ffirst to answ^r^ his desires of giveing him a vizitt, which he hopeing thou wilt doe, hath ordered y^e^ bearer with his boat, if need require, to wait vpon thee to sett thee over in o^r^ parts in case thou should rather choose to travell over Long Island than the maine. Dear Friend, the boat staying for me, am forsed, with desires of pardon for this bouldness, to break off, and so shall add no further but that, with y^e^ remembrence of my sincere love, I take leave and subscribe my selfe to remaine

Thy most faithfull friend, NATHANIELL SYLVESTER.

Be pleased to p^r^sent my dear respeckts to Maj^r^ Palmes. Pray excuse my hastie scribling.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR, TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d friend, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent.

SHELTER ISLAND, Decemb^r^ 3^d^ 1680.

WORTHY S^r^, — Although I heard at York, p^r^ y^e^ returne of y^e^ Governor's sloop, y^t^ you were not wholly recouvered of yo^r^ sickness, I hope fortune hath by this time been so kind as to restore you to yo^r^ former health. S^r^ I parted with y^e^ Govern^r^ last Tuesday morning, who gave me the enclosed, w^th^ command to send it forward per y^e^ first: w^ch^ now p^r^sents p^r^ Cap^t^ Young. I am but just returned home & Cap^t^ Young upon going, therefore have not time to give you a farther acc^t^ of any thing at present than to tell you that all things are well at Yorck, although y^e^ discourse of the vulgar may rep^r^sent it otherwayes. I have no more at p^r^sent but to assure you that had I time I would make it my buisness to wait on you & to entreat you believe that I am, worthy S^r^,

Yo^r^ affectionate friend, & humble serv^t^, G. SYLVESTER.

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GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d freind, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^sent.

SHELTER ISLAND, June 2^d^ 1682.

WORTHY S^R^, — My rudeness in so unmañerly a returne to yo^r^ civilityes, after leave taken, is so great as no confession of mine would excuse it to any other than yo^r^ good nature; & since all y^e^ rhetorick I can employ will not be sufficient to expiate such a crime, tis only from yo^r^ goodness I 'll hold my pardon. I would make an apoligy for my error in not kissing yo^r^ hands at my last coming away; but when I consider how unseasonable it would have been (so early in y^e^ morning.) I know it is far better to be unman^r^ly than troublesome. Tis to you alone I acknowledge this confession due, who I hope are my friend & will pardon my last farewell to y^e^ errors of my youth, imputing it wholly to y^e^ 29^th^ of May, a day w^ch^ shall be blotted out of my Kalender another year unless it be for me to improve to bett^r^ use, in makeing knowne to you how much I am, Worthy S^r^,

Yo^r^ most humble servant, G. SYLVESTER.

I hope yo^r^ leisure will sute you to obleidge him w^th^ a line, who lives by y^e^ hopes of kissing yo^r^ hands here some time this summ^r^. S^r^ my uncle Joshua requests y^e^ fav^r^ of a sear cloth of you for a pain he hath about his should^r^ since his late sicknes & desires you to excuse this boldness.

GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To his hon^r^d freind, Maj^r^ John Winthrop, in New London, p^r^esent.

SHELT^R^ ISLAND, July 12^th^ 1682.

WORTHY S^R^, — My most humble s^r^vice to you. I was sorry y^t^ p^r^ y^e^ last opp^r^tunity of my boat (when Maj^r^ Palmes had y^e^ bricks) I could not serve you w^th^ y^e^ pavem^ts^ you sometime spake of; & am likewise disappointed p^r^ this, for y^e^ fellow that makes them will not sett his kiln on fire till next week. I have not yet been unmindfull of them, & as soon as they are done shall take y^e^ first opp^r^tunity to convey them to you. When I saw you last you gave me great hopes that I should kiss yo^r^ hands heer ere this; I promise myselfe it wont be long till I enjoy that fav^r^. Heer is no newes but from Yorck, that S^r^ Edmund is y^e^ p^r^son expected again, w^ch^ I hope is true. S^r^, I am just at this minute of time call'd by my occasions to Southhold & therefore can add no more, than to entreat yo^r^ belief that I alwayes am

Yo^r^ reall freind & humble s^r^vant,

G. SYLVESTER.

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GILES SYLVESTER, JR., TO FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP.

To Majr John Winthrop, in New London, prsent.

SH: I: 10br 27th 1683.

SR,—My humble service to you. Although I knew of no certain conveyance for this to you speedily, yet I left this (being this morning taking horse for Yorck) to be sent with ye first, to give you what acct I can concerning ye proceedings of ye Assembly. They have done what they can to bring all ye Islands, viz: Fisher's, Shelter, Gardiner's, & Plum Island wthin ye East Rideing, now ye County of Suffolck, & so by consequence to be wthin ye power of their magistracy; whereupon they have issued forth warrants for appearing before them to be assessed for raising of one penny in ye ℔ as a gift to ye Govrnr. They have sent one of their warrants hither (& I understand one to yorselfe); but I take noe notice of it, not questioning but that, when Govrnor is bettr informed, he will command ye contrary. However, shall try ye utmost whether ye patent graunted by Coll: Nicols be of force or noe, & am resolved whatever thankfulness I show ye Govrnor shall not pass through their hands. We have a pair of Hobarts that cannot live wthout trouble no more than a fish without water, who I perceive are as much as they can the occasion of this. I thought good to advise you of this; I know not what yor intent is in this matter, but I should have been very glad to have waited on yor selfe ere my going, to have taken yor advice, not questioning but that you being concerned in ye like buisness would have advised me for ye best, & to have gone together if it be yor intent (as I suppose it will be) to stir in this mattr; but delayes are not good. I will give you a further acct at my returne. I am in great hast, Sr

Yor very humble srvant, G. SYLVESTER.

"*Extract of Mr Sylvesters & Mr Pells Pattents*, 1666."

THE Patent for Shelter Island graunted to Constant Silvester of the Island of Barbadoes, Esqr & Nathaniell Silvester of Shelter Island, merchts, their heyres & assignes, beares date the 31th day of May 1666. The extraordinary clauses in the Patent are as followeth, vizt that the sd Island is to have like & equall priviledges & immunities with any towne, infranchised place, or mannour, within the Governmt, & shall in no manner of way bee subordinate or belonging vnto, haue any dependance upon, or in any wise bee under ye rule, order, or direction

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of any riding, towneship or towneships, place or jurisdiction, upon Long Island, but shall in all cases, things & matters bee deemed, reputed, taken & held, as an absolute, intire, infranchised towneship, mannour, & place of it selfe, in this Government, & shall bee ruled, ordered & directed in all matters as to governm^t accordingly, by the Govern^r & his Councell & the Gen^ll Co^rt of Assizes onely. Provided that no priviledges or immunityes herein graunted, or menc̃oned to bee graunted, shall bee meant or interpreted to extend to the protecting of any trayto^r, malefact^r, fugitives, or debt^rs, flying into the said Island to the damage of any particular person, or the obstruction of the lawes & the common & publick peace of this Governm^t & the justice thereof. The tenure of the land to bee held as of y^e manno^r of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free & common soccage, & by fealty onely. The Island is by the law exempted from taxes & publick rates, as also from training & other military dutyes. The patentees are to pay as an acknowledgm^t one lambe onely yearely, upon the first day of May, if demanded.

M^r Thomas Pells Patent for Anne Hookes Neck, Miniford Island, & the other small islands adjacent, is in all respects conformable to that of Shelter Island, with this onely addic̃on, viz^t allwayes provided that the inhabitants on the s^d tract of land shall bee obliged to send forward to the next towne all publick packetts & letters, or hue & cryes, coming to this place, or going from it to any other of his Ma^tie^s Colonyes. The acknowledgm^t the same as Shelter Island. The patent is dated Oct. 6. 1666.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN alluded to the London "Gazette," which was the official organ of the government in those days, and to which Judge Sewall frequently refers, which contains much authentic information relating to the Colonies that can be found nowhere else, and only one complete copy of which exists in this country, and that is at Washington.

Mr. WOLCOTT said: —

In further amplification of one of the incidents referred to at the last meeting in Mr. Slafter's elaborate paper on the Symbols of Royalty, it may prove interesting to relate more fully the history of the equestrian statue of King George III., which at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War stood on the Bowling Green, the apex of the New York promontory.

By the repeal of the Stamp Act in March, 1766, the smouldering embers of loyalty in the breasts of the American colonists were temporarily fanned into a blaze of ardent devotion

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to the crown and its ministers. Stimulated by this sentiment, a large meeting of the citizens of New York was held at Burns's Coffee House on June 23, 1766, at which resolutions were adopted petitioning the Assembly to erect a statue in honor of William Pitt, for whose efficient advocacy of their cause the colonists thus showed their gratitude, and also that an equestrian statue of George III. might be erected on the Bowling Green, where it would greet the incoming ship with the assurance that here, not less than in England, his Majesty's person and high office were held in honor and esteem.

Both these measures were accomplished. A marble statue of Pitt was set up in Wall Street on the 7th of September, 1770. The figure was draped in a Roman toga, and the pedestal bore the following inscription: "This Statue of the Right Honorable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was erected as a public testimony of the grateful sense the Colony of New York retains of the many eminent services he rendered to America, particularly in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act. Anno Domini 1770." This statue was desecrated, but it was by the British troops. Mary L. Booth, in her "History of the City of New York" (1863), says: —

"After the occupation of the city by the British in 1775, the head and right hand were struck off by the soldiery, in revenge for the insults before offered by the Americans to the statue of George III. The headless trunk remained standing until after the evacuation in 1783, when it was removed to the Bridewell Yard. It was thence transferred to the yard of the Arsenal near the Collect, and finally found its way to the corner of Franklin Street and West Broadway, where its headless trunk may now be seen in front of the basement entrance of the Museum Hotel."

The statue of King George was erected on the Bowling Green in front of Fort George on the 21st August, 1770, the birthday of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, the father of the king. It was the work of Wilton, a celebrated statuary of London, and although made principally of lead is described as "very elegant and richly gilded, so that it had the appearance of being solid gold."

The ceremony of the dedication is thus described in a letter of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader Colden to Lord Hillsborough: —

"An equestrian guilt [*sic*] statue of the King, made by direction of, and purchased by this Colony, came over in one of the last ships from

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London. On Thursday last it was opened to view, erected on its proper pedestal, in a square near the Fort, and fronting the principal street of the city. I was attended on this occasion by the gentlemen of the Council, and members of Assembly then in town, the magistrates of the city, the clergy of all denominations, and a very large number of the principal inhabitants. Our Loyalty, firm attachment and affection to his Majesty's person was expressed by drinking the King's health, and a long continuance of his reign, under a discharge of thirty-two pieces of cannon, a band of music playing at the same time from the ramparts of the Fort. The General and officers of the army gave us the honor of their company on the occasion. The whole company walked in procession from the Fort round the statue, while the spectators expressed their joy by loud acclamations, and the procession having returned with me to the Fort, the ceremony concluded with great cheerfulness and good humour."

An agreeable occasion truly!

But the cheerfulness and good humor were destined to eclipse. Except amid the official class, the flame of loyalty to a transatlantic monarch and government, which had burned so brightly on the repeal of the Stamp Act, had soon become flickering and unsteady, and was well-nigh extinguished in the revulsion of feeling which followed the imposition of the duty on tea, and the other events which now crowded upon one another so thickly.

Already in February, 1773 (13th George III., Chap. 1580), an act was passed "to prevent the defacing of statues which are erected in the city of New York."

On the afternoon of July 10, 1776, the news of the adoption by the Continental Congress of the Declaration of Independence reached New York, and was read to the troops drawn up in hollow square, in the centre of which were Washington and his staff. The people in great numbers crowded around. The hour was late and the excitement intense. After the dismissal of the soldiery, the populace, headed by the Sons of Liberty, with one accord repaired to the Bowling Green. Having reached the statue of their gracious sovereign, it was not long before the changed condition of sentiment found expression in overt act. At first the tops of the iron railing surrounding the statue were twisted or broken off; and these, it is said, at a later period furnished projectiles to cannon pointed at his Majesty's troops.

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Nor was the statue itself spared. By the light of blazing bonfires kindled in the streets, ropes were thrown over horse and rider, and both were dragged to the ground. The pedestal remained standing for some years, and was finally removed after the close of the war.

What became of king and charger? We are told they were drawn through the streets by the indignant patriots and then hewn in pieces, which were carefully concealed. We are able to trace the subsequent history of these fragments.

Oliver Wolcott, Jr., who in 1795 succeeded Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's Cabinet, and was afterwards for ten years Governor of Connecticut, in a sketch which he prepared of the life of his father, Oliver Wolcott, says: —

"In January, 1776, he attended at Philadelphia the session of Congress at which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, of which he was one of the Signers. . . . During the session he returned to Connecticut. He carried with him from the city of New York the leaden statue of King George III., which was converted into bullets at Litchfield, under his direction."

Tradition says the fragments of the statue were transported to Litchfield with the utmost secrecy in an ox-cart furnished by the New York patriots. On reaching their destination, they were buried under an apple-tree in Oliver Wolcott's orchard. This tree (of the Pound variety) my father, born in 1804, well remembers. It was near the southeasterly corner of the old homestead, still standing, which has received as guests Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Hamilton, and many others distinguished in the Revolutionary period.

The following memorandum in the handwriting of the elder Oliver Wolcott gives the further history of the statue: —

Mrs. Marvin	3456 cartridges.	
" " on former account	2602	6,058
Ruth Marvin on former account	6204	
Not sent to court house 449 packs	5388	11,592
Laura on former account	4250	
Not sent to court house, 344 packs	4128	8,378
Mary Ann on former account	5762	

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Not sent to court house 119 packs, out of which I let Col. Perley Howe have 3 packs . . .	5028	10,790
Frederick on former account	708	
Not sent to court house 19 packs	228	936
		37,754
Mrs. Beach's two accounts		2,002
Made by sundry persons		2,182
Gave Litchfield militia on alarm		50
Let the regiment of Col. Wigglesworth have		300
Cartridges No.		42,288
Overcharged in Mrs. Beach's account		200
		42,088

The original account is indorsed by General Wolcott "an account of the number of cartridges made." It is undated, and bears no reference to the statue having furnished the material. But a memorandum added by his son explains it as follows: —

"N. B. An equestrian statue of George the Third of Great Britain was erected in the city of New York on the Bowling Green, at the lower end of Broadway; most of the materials were lead, but richly gilded to resemble gold. At the beginning of the Revolution this statue was overthrown. Lead being then scarce and dear, the statue was broken in pieces, and the metal transported to Litchfield as a place of safety. The ladies of this village converted the lead into cartridges, of which the preceding is an account. (Signed) O. W."

Mrs. Marvin was the wife of Reinold Marvin, who had held the office of king's attorney, until he voluntarily relinquished it in order to give himself wholly to the struggle for independence. The daughter Ruth Marvin afterwards married Ephraim Kirby, who served through the Revolution with distinction, and retired with "thirteen honorable scars." Among their descendants the soldierly instinct has been conspicuous down to the present time.

Laura, Mary Ann, and Frederick were the children of the elder Oliver Wolcott. Laura married William Moseley, of Hartford (Yale College, 1777), and left no descendants. Mary Ann married Chauncey Goodrich (Yale College, 1776),

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who early attained the highest rank in the profession of law, and served for many years in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States. She was a woman distinguished for her beauty and wit. Frederick Wolcott was then a boy of ten, which may account for his inconsiderable share in the work, and for the fact that he was the only male included in the list. He afterwards graduated at Yale with the first honors of his class, and died in 1837 after a long life of honorable public and private usefulness.

Mrs. Beach was probably the wife of Beriah or Noah Beach, who were two of a band of thirty-six picked Litchfield men engaged in the defence of Fort Washington when it was stormed by the British, Nov. 16, 1776. The fate of this little band is seldom paralleled in the history of civilized warfare. Four were killed in the attack. The rest, thirty-two in number, were imprisoned on board prison ships, in Livingstone's sugar-house, and in the North Church. Owing to the neglect and hardships to which they were subjected, twenty died before December 27, when an exchange of prisoners was effected. Of the remaining twelve only eight were able to sail for Connecticut, among whom were the two Beaches, and of these four died on the way.

The cartridges thus made by the women of Litchfield were, for purposes of defence, distributed among the Whigs of the surrounding country, — for Connecticut, abandoned by almost all its fighting men, was in constant fear of invasion, — and some of them were put to good use at Danbury in repelling the brutally marauding expedition under Governor Tryon.

But it appears that the entire statue was not so utilized. In the "Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson," under date of Nov. 22, 1777, we find the following entry: —

"At Lord Townshend's, Portman Square, Lady Townshend asked me if I had a mind to see an instance of American loyalty? and going to the sopha, uncovered a large gilt head, which at once appeared to be that of the King, which it seems the rebels at N. York, after the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776), cut off from the statue which had been erected there, and sent to Fort Washington, in order to fix it on a pole or pike: but by some means or other it was buried, and after the surrender of the Fort, Montres or (?) took it into his possession, and sent it to Lord T., which he rec'd last night. The nose is wounded

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and defaced, but the gilding remains fair; and as it was well executed, it retains a striking likeness."

In another part of his Diary he records the fact that "Lord Stirling, so-called," who held high command in the American army, but whose right to the title he assumed had been denied by the House of Lords, was said to have himself severed the head of the statue from the body. It is probable that this head exists in some private or public collection in England to-day.

So much of the history of the statue is unquestionably authentic. I now come to certain statements advanced with considerable definiteness of detail, but which lack complete confirmation. One of these statements is found in Miss Booth's "History of the City of New York," already quoted. A footnote, following a general account of the conversion of the statue into bullets, says: "The saddle-cloth, sunk in a marsh opposite the house of Wolcott, was quite recently discovered by accident and exhumed, and after passing through various hands was purchased by Mr. Riley, of the Museum Hotel, where it still remains, a fitting companion for the statue of Pitt," to which reference has already been made. I have ascertained that at the time this history was published (1863) "Riley's Fifth Ward Museum Hotel" stood in West Broadway, and contained an extensive collection of Revolutionary relics; but it subsequently was devoted to business purposes, and the collection dispersed. I have failed to obtain any confirmation of the finding of this saddle-cloth at *Litchfield;* but the statement is made on good authority that a part of the saddle, with holsters attached, was dug up in the town of Wilton, and sold for twenty-five dollars to a student then attending a school in that town kept by a daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, D.D. In the town of Wilton, too, Mr. Samuel Coley many years ago found on his farm a horse's tail in metal, weighing about four hundred pounds, which he sold for $120 to "an historical society, then located, he thinks, at the corner of Broadway and Fourteenth Street, New York;" possibly the Museum Hotel which had secured the other relics. The tradition in Wilton was that both these pieces had been thrown aside when the statue was being transported through the town. From the fact that all descriptions of the statue speak of it as "mostly" of lead, it is possible that these portions were of some other

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metal, not fit for running into bullets, and were on this account purposely discarded. If these fragments are still in existence, it is probable that they and the battered head in England are the only portions left of the statue which in its brave gilding looked out over the waters of Long Island Sound at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

Mr. WARREN said that a statue of Pitt formerly had been set up in Dedham, of which the stone foundation still remains.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks: —

Among the manuscript volumes belonging to the Society is a note-book of 166 pages, kept by the Rev. William Brinsmead, the first minister of Marlborough, Massachusetts. It consists mostly of texts and heads of sermons delivered by him on Sundays, Fast days and Thanksgivings, and covers a period, with no omissions, from the year 1682 to 1695. It mentions also, briefly, the Wednesday meetings held at the houses of different persons in Marlborough, as well as refers to the services on Lecture days in other towns, where Mr. Brinsmead took part. In early times it was a practice throughout New England, shortly before the regular communion service, to observe a half-day with some religious exercises, and this was called "Lecture day." It was made the occasion of some special pains to prepare the communicants for the sacrament.

The book is written in Latin, without a blot or blemish, in very plain and handsome characters; and the texts are given either in Hebrew or Greek, according as they are taken from the Old or the New Testament. Sometimes Mr. Brinsmead preached several sermons, on successive Sundays, from the same verse; and in one instance he appears to have taken his text for thirteen Sunday discourses in succession from Nehemiah i. 14. The places in the Bible where the subject is found are indicated in the outer margin in clear and large letters; while the names of the several towns where the sermons were preached are shown in the inner margin. A list of these towns comprises Billerica, Braintree, Chelmsford, Concord, Dorchester, Dunstable, Groton, Marlborough, Milton, Rehoboth, Sudbury and Weymouth. The names are given in a Latinized form, though sometimes abbreviated, thus: Billericæ, Chelmesfordiæ, Grotonii, Waym., etc.

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The date of the first entry in the book is March 5, 1681–2, and of the last, Feb. 9, 1695–6. The first one may be translated thus: —

Marlborough, Sunday forenoon, March 5. I preached on the uses of the doctrine from these words taken together, Proverbs viii. 36 [here the first clause of the verse is quoted in Hebrew.] Afternoon, I treated of the doctrine in part from these words, namely [here follows the last clause of the verse].

On the following Sunday he preached another sermon from the same verse. Occasionally there are various other entries about church matters which the writer thought worthy of note; and in these brief items the chief interest of the book now lies. As examples I give the following translations: —

Sunday afternoon, October 8, 1682. To-day a contribution was taken up for Jonathan Johnson, who has been boarding a sick Scotchman, named William Craford.

Sunday afternoon, March 4, 1683. To-day we received into the church my sister Jane Brinsmead.

I make this extract in order to show how the writer himself spelled the surname, as it was often written "Brimsmead." The sister afterward married John Ruddock, and died on Feb. 9, 1687–8, as is stated in the book.

May 6, 1683. In the afternoon Mr. Jonathan Russell [of Barnstable] preached from Psalms lv. 22.

October 29, 1684. Mr. Grindall Rawson [of Mendon] was ordained.[1]

June 8, 1687. Mr. Gershom Hobart [of Groton] preached at a Lecture.

September 20, 1687. John Warner, of Lancaster, was taken into the church, at the house of Jonathan Johnson. At the same time John Rudduck and Edward Rice were chosen deacons.

Sunday afternoon, October 30, 1687. Mr. [Edward] Taylor, of Westfield, and Mr. Jonathan Russell were present, and Mr. Taylor, owing to my having the nosebleed, offered up the first prayer.

February 9, 1687. About midnight my sister Jane Rudduck died happily after a life spent happily; and in the afternoon of February 13, was buried.

September 9, 1688. Owing to rumors in circulation early this morning [about the Indians], no public services were held.

[1] Mr. Sibley, in his Harvard Graduates (vol. iii. p. 161), gives the date of this ordination as April 7, 684.

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September 19, 1688. Preached on a Lecture day at Groton, from Jeremiah xvi. 17 [here follows the text in Hebrew]. The pulpit was so dark this rainy day that I could not read the text; on which account it was read by Mr. Hobart of that town, nor was I able to read any text at this meeting.

Sunday afternoon, March 1, 1691. To-day was taken up a contribution for the redemption of the captives from the Eastern Indians [*ab Indis Orientalibus*], on the petition of Henry Jackson, of whose family four were then in the hands of the enemy.

Mr. Brinsmead mentions perhaps thirty persons at whose houses the midweek meetings were held. In this list appear the names of John Barnes, John Barrett, Thomas Beaman, Abraham and Isaac Howe, Widow Hunt, Jonathan Johnson, Nathaniel Joslin, Henry and William Kerley, John Maynard, Joseph, Moses and Richard Newton, Daniel, Edward, Joseph and Samuel Rice, John Ruddock, Samuel and William Ward, Master Weld, Abraham Williams, James and John Woods, and others.

This interesting old volume was used by the Rev. Thomas Prince in the preparation of his "Chronological History of New-England;" and in his Preface (page vii), where he gives a list of the manuscripts consulted,[1] he refers to it, as follows: —

An Original *Journal* in *Latin*, composed by the late Rev. Mr. *Brimsmead* of *Marlborough*, and in his own Handwriting, from 1665 to 1695, inclusively.

On the paper cover there is a brief memorandum in Prince's well-known handwriting; and from the description of the

[1] It may be worthy of note that there are now in the Society's Library several other manuscripts, which were used by Mr. Prince and mentioned in this list. They are as follows: —

"The Rev. Mr. *William Hubbard's* General HISTORY of NEW ENGLAND from the Discovery to 1680, in 338 *Pages:* And tho' not in his own Hand-writing, yet having several Corrections made thereby." This manuscript was presented by the Reverend Dr. John Eliot, on April 9, 1791, and is included in the first gift ever made to the Society.

"Major General *Gookin's* History of the *New-England Indians*, to 1674, inclusively."

"An Original *Journal* of the late Capt. *Lawrence Hammond* of *Charlestown* and *Boston*, from 1677 to 1694, inclusively."

Besides these volumes there are various interleaved almanacs with notes by Chief Justice Sewall, the Rev. Thomas Shepard (the son), of Charlestown, and the Rev. Joseph Gerrish, of Wenham, which are mentioned in Mr. Prince's list.

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Journal given by the Annalist, when in his possession, it would appear that the work was probably in two volumes, as it extended over a period of thirty years. In that case the Society's copy, which covers nearly fourteen years and is complete in itself, was the second volume; but there is no mark on the book to indicate this fact. It is not now known either when or by whom the manuscript was given.

In the sale "Catalogue of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley," Part I. (Hartford, 1878), page 128, under Mather (Richard), is the following title, numbered 938: —

MANUSCRIPT SERMON, from Heb. 13. 17, preached "At an Ordination at Marleborough, Apr: 7: 1659." 16 *pages*, 8°.

This entry in the catalogue is accompanied with the following note: —

The *occasion* and the *date* of this Sermon deserve notice. The town of Marlborough was not incorporated until May [31], 1660, and the Rev. William Brinsmead (a native of Dorchester, and doubtless a member of Mather's church) is said to have been the first minister, but he was not *installed* until October 3, 1666. That he (or any other) minister was *ordained* at Marlborough as early as April, 1659, seems to have been unknown even to Mr. Hudson, the local historian.

While the subject is involved in some obscurity, it would be an interesting fact to know what minister was ordained on April 7, 1659; but all the circumstantial evidence points to William Brinsmead as the man. He was born at Dorchester, where the Rev. Richard Mather, the writer of the ordination sermon, was settled as pastor. He was preaching at Marlborough as early as September, 1660; and the customs and traditions of the Puritan church would suggest a previous ordination. The presumption certainly lies in that direction.

Mr. Brinsmead remained here during several years, when, owing to some civil or ecclesiastical troubles, he left the town and went to Plymouth to preach, where he was invited to settle, but declined the call. He afterward returned to the field of his first labors, and was installed at Marlborough, on Oct. 3, 1666; and here he continued his ministrations until his death, which occurred on July 3, 1701.

Unfortunately the early records of Marlborough are lost,

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so that now there is no help from this source to answer the question.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP then addressed the meeting in these words: —

The appointment of a committee at the last meeting, agreeably to your suggestion, Mr. President, for the selection of anything in our archives which might furnish the material for a special publication appropriate to the coming Centennial of the first Inauguration of Washington in 1789, led me to think whether I could recall any tradition or any fact or any paper having relation to that most notable event. The rough draught of a short letter, and a little anecdote, are all that I have been able to think of, and these may hardly be worth reading or recounting.

The letter is from Gov. James Bowdoin to Benjamin Franklin, to whom it introduces the first President of this Society, and is as follows: —

BOSTON, 1788.

His Excy Benjn Franklin at Philadelphia.

Dr SIR, — Several Gentlemen going to Phila are desirous of the honour of being introduced to your Excellency. Among them is Christo Gore esqr a Gentleman of reputation in ye Profession of Law: and, which adds to the worth of his character, a warm advocate of federalism and particularly of ye proposed Federal Constitution. He will be able to inform you of the favourable prospects we have in regard to the adoption of that Constitution by ye State of New Hampshire. We have just heard of its adoption by Maryland, upon wch occasion ye Bells are now announcing ye publick joy.

It is to be hoped ye complete adoption of it is not very distant: in wch case ye U. S. may expect to experience ye benefits arising from a firm and energetick government, on ye felicities of wch I hope to congratulate you a Century hence, as well as in ye Course of ye present year.

I beg leave to introduce to yr Excy the revd Mr. Hilliard, a worthy clergyman of Cambridge, and his friend Mr. Thos Lee of ye same town. As they intend going to Phila, they requested a line of introduction to give them ye honor & pleasure of paying their respects to a Gentleman, whose character they highly revere. With ye most affectionate regards, I have ye honour of being, my dear friend,

Yrs, [JAMES BOWDOIN.]

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The rough draught from which this copy is made is in Bowdoin's own handwriting; but the date is only "Boston, 1788," without either month or day. The letter states, however, that it was written while the Boston bells were ringing to signalize the public joy that Maryland had adopted the Constitution of the United States. Now, this event occurred on the 28th of April, 1788, — Maryland having been the seventh State to adopt the Constitution. Massachusetts was the sixth. The letter was therefore written about the first of May, 1788, — allowing three or four days for the news to reach Boston from Annapolis. South Carolina and New Hampshire soon followed, and completed the necessary nine States.

It will be observed that Bowdoin says to Franklin that, if the Constitution is adopted, "he hopes to congratulate him a century hence, as well as in the course of the present year." This was in playful allusion to the conjectures which these old philosophers cherished and sometimes expressed, that they might meet each other in another world and discern clearly the effects of what they had done in this world. The century is now just completed; and we may almost imagine Franklin and Bowdoin, if it be permitted them to look down upon their country, exchanging congratulations in the skies on "the felicities of the firm and energetic government" which the Constitution has secured.

But now for the little anecdote. It happened that in 1836 I was Secretary of the Committee of Arrangements and Chief Marshal for the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the foundation of Harvard College. It being thought desirable to obtain the autographs of all the alumni and guests assembled on that occasion, little blank-books were placed on the dinner-tables, with pens and ink, and all persons present were requested to write their names. These little books were bound together under my direction, and finally deposited in the College Library, where the volume now is.

But the oldest living alumnus at that time was Paine Wingate, of the Class of 1759, who was then in his ninety-ninth year. His age and infirmities rendered it impossible for him to be at the celebration at Cambridge; but I was unwilling to lose his signature for the volume of autographs, and so I made a journey to his home in Stratham, New Hampshire, about seven miles out from Portsmouth. The venerable man

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was on his bed, completely "bedridden;" but his wife informed me that he would be glad to receive me in his chamber, and there I spent a most interesting hour with him. After telling him all about the Harvard Centennial, I succeeded in getting him to write his name for the volume of autographs, in which it may now be seen. He wrote a separate autograph for myself, which I still have. On my alluding to the fact that he was a member of the first Senate of the United States, he told his wife to bring him the old original printed Journals of that Congress, — the copies which he had received as a member, at New York, in 1789. He then asked me to read over to him the names of his colleagues in that memorable body. I read them to him accordingly, — Rufus King and Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee and Caleb Strong, Oliver Ellsworth and Ralph Izard, and all the rest, not forgetting John Langdon, the colleague of Paine Wingate, who was the President *pro tempore* of the first Senate until John Adams was installed as Vice-President of the United States. There were but twenty-two Senators in all, from only eleven States, — North Carolina and Rhode Island having no Senators as yet. I went through the whole list, and at the end of each name the old man repeated the name in a clear, ringing tone, and asked most eagerly, "Where is he?" On my saying that he was dead, he exclaimed, "Is he dead?" "And is he dead?" "And is he dead, too?"

It had escaped his enfeebled memory that he himself had long been the last survivor of that first Senate of the United States; and I can remember but few things in my life more impressive than the hollow and sepulchral tones of Paine Wingate's voice as he repeated, "Is he dead?" "And is he dead?" "And is he dead, too?" after each name of his old colleagues. They were as pathetic and as dramatic as the exclamations of Philoctetes, on being told successively of the deaths of Achilles and Ajax and Patroclus, in the great tragedy of Sophocles.

He insisted on giving to me those old copies of the Journals from which I had read to him, together with an original copy of Alexander Hamilton's celebrated Report on the Finances, and I have long ago deposited one or more of these documents in the Library of this Society.

There was one thing, however, which Paine Wingate re-

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membered, and only one of any interest, and that was that he dined with WASHINGTON on the day of his first inauguration as President of the United States, on the 30th of April, 1789, — the day which is about to be commemorated so worthily in New York. But he only remembered the fact, and could recall none of the incidents of the occasion.

Paine Wingate had entered his ninety-ninth year when I saw him, and there was great hope that he might complete his century; but he died in March, 1838, before he had entered his hundredth year. His wife, who was a sister of Col. Timothy Pickering, lived eight months and eight days over her hundred years, and received company on her hundredth birthday in her wedding-dress. She was in her ninety-fifth year when I made this visit to Stratham, and was moving about with great activity, showing off her husband as a wonder, and seemingly unconscious that she was really the greater wonder of the two.

I had seen Charles Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, at his own house in Baltimore, in 1832; and now I had seen the last surviving member of the first Senate of the United States, who had dined with Washington on the day of his first inauguration, when our Constitutional Government was originally organized and its machinery set in motion. That was a great day, the 30th of April, 1789; and I wish it could have been adopted as the Inauguration Day for our second century, instead of the 4th of March, agreeably to the amendment to the Constitution which has been twice adopted by the present Senate.

Mr. GOODELL called attention to a painting which had been consigned to him for identification by Mr. B. F. Stevens, of London. It represents the Constitutional Convention of Virginia in 1829–1830, James Monroe presiding; while before him are James Madison, Chief Justice Marshall, and others. It was painted by Catlin, the famous painter of the Indians, and is now on its way to Richmond.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP rose and said: —

Our Vice-President, Dr. Deane, will concur with me heartily, I am sure, in lamenting that our late valued friend, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, could not have lived and

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been with us here to-day as one of our Honorary Members, to examine this painting with us, and to tell us who were the men depicted on the canvas. He often spoke to me with pride of having been a member of the Virginia Convention of 1830. He was the very youngest member, and was one of the last survivors of that eminent body. He delivered an Historical Address, — in 1848, I think, — giving an account of its proceedings and of all his associates. He would have been able to tell us the names of the whole assembly, and to identify the likenesses of all whom the artist has undertaken to portray.

For myself, I can recognize but few of them. Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Tazewell, and perhaps John Randolph, are readily distinguished by those who have seen their portraits, or by those, if there be any here besides myself, who have seen them in life. Of Madison I can speak from personal acquaintance. It was my privilege — and I count it as one of the greatest privileges of my life — to spend a day or two with James Madison, under his own roof at Montpelier, in 1832. He was then just entering his eighty-third year; but his faculties were entirely unimpaired, and he was one of the most instructive and charming persons with whom I have ever had the good fortune to converse. It was only two years after the meeting of the very Convention which the painting before us dépicts. That Convention, and the Legislature of Virginia which soon followed it, had both dealt much with the question of African slavery, and Mr. Madison's own mind had been turned intently upon that topic. I remember well his saying to me that the debates in the Convention and in the Legislature had given him the first strong encouragement, the first confident belief, that domestic slavery was not to be a perpetual institution, and that some mode would be devised and adopted for bringing it to an end. I cannot forget how impressively he added, substantially, "You see me here surrounded by these black servants and laborers. Heaven knows how willingly I would emancipate them all. But even if the laws of the State would permit me to do so, it would be a cruelty to them of which I could not be guilty. They are as much attached to this old homestead as I am, or any of my family. I could not rend asunder their old associations, break up their little homes and fami-

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lies, and turn them out upon the precarious mercies of the world."

I forbear from attempting to recall more of my interview with Mr. Madison, nearly sixty years ago. I gave some account of it in a letter to my late excellent friend, the Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia, in 1856; and that letter is printed in the Appendix to one of my volumes of Addresses and Speeches.[1] I have risen now, without any preparation, in response to the call of our valued associate, Mr. Goodell, only to bear witness to the authenticity and interest of the painting which he has placed before us, and which I rejoice to know is to be sent at once to our historical friends in Virginia.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD stated that it had been proposed to discontinue the publication of the Province Laws, which this Society would deplore, and he suggested that they should express their opinion upon the matter.

Judge HOAR said that he hoped this opinion would be expressed, because lawyers and students of history expected that the work would be completed by the State, as much so as if it had been undertaken by any publisher, and that the Bar Association and other societies intended to remonstrate.

Dr. ELLIS quoted Gov. Emory Washburn's opinion of the extreme value of these records; and at his suggestion, which was seconded by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Judge Devens, Judge Lowell, and Mr. Solomon Lincoln were appointed a committee to present to the committee of the Legislature reasons why the printing and editing of the Province Laws should be continued and completed.

A new serial, including the proceedings from June, 1888, to January, 1889, was ready for members at this meeting.

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 691-695.

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MARCH MEETING, 1889.

THE Society met on the 14th instant; the chair being taken by the President, Dr. ELLIS.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian mentioned the recent gifts to the Library.

Mr. WINSOR reported that by a communication to him from the Comte de Nicolai, it appeared that this gentleman had communicated to the Government of the Province of Quebec copies of the De Lévis papers, and they were now printing under authority of the provincial legislature, with an introductory account of De Lévis by Nicolai himself. This publication, together with the printing of the collection of the Haldemand Papers by the Archives Department at Ottawa, are the most important contributions to our provincial history, and respecting the relations of the English colonies with those of France, now in progress of publication. The publication of the De Lévis papers will show, what is not at present very clear, just how far they will add to the knowledge we already possess in the Parkman collection of papers in the Cabinet of our Society.

Mr. Winsor also reported that he had more definite knowledge respecting the papers of Luzerne, the French minister to this country during the Revolution, than he possessed when he last spoke of them to the Society. From a letter of the Comte Jean de Kergorlay, a grand-nephew of the Chevalier, it appears that what remains consists of eight volumes, — three of the series having disappeared, — and of these eight volumes one contains Luzerne's instructions from the French court, another commercial papers, and the remainder Luzerne's correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and at the end of the last volume is a series of judgments by Luzerne on the members of the Continental Congress. Mr. Winsor added that he had proposed to their owner that the papers should be sent here for examination, with a view to purchase.

Mr. Winsor also stated that the Baron Nordenskiöld had recently brought to light, in the library of the University of Upsala, a manuscript map of the city of Mexico, after it had

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been rebuilt by the Spaniards, and apparently of a date not far from 1550, — the work of Alonzo de Santa Cruz, one of the most skilful cartographers of the time, and the one to whom we owe the earliest attempts to map the variations of the needle. The plan — of which a reduced photograph was shown — is interesting in many ways, and finds a natural relation to those we already possess, as made by Cortes and Ramusio, and by some of the later authorities, to all of which it bears sufficient resemblance. It is to be remarked, however, that the town itself occupies, as in all of these early maps, a space disproportioned to the extent of the lake in which it was situated, — a sacrifice probably of geographical relations in order to afford space for the clearer delineation of the streets and buildings. Surveys made by Humboldt, and since perfected by competent engineers, give us the exact limits of the ancient lake, and it is no longer a matter of conjecture as to the space occupied by the town itself. This map of Santa Cruz bears curious testimony to the oppression, in menial service, which the conquerors put upon the natives, in the multitude of groups of Indians bearing burdens and lashed by overseers, which are delineated on all the highways connecting the country with the town.

In preparation for the approaching Annual Meeting a committee of nomination was appointed, consisting of Messrs. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., S. C. Cobb, and W. W. Greenough; a committee on the Treasurer's accounts, consisting of Messrs. A. T. Perkins and G. B. Chase; and a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, consisting of Messrs. H. F. Jenks, E. J. Lowell, and O. B. Frothingham.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows: —

Since our last meeting, one who was in his seat among us then, has been removed, in the full vigor of his life, by a sudden death on February 21. Mr. Henry Austin Whitney had been a Resident Member of the Society thirty-one years. His presence here was always welcome, and much enjoyed by himself when he could spare the hours from the cares and responsibilities of an engrossing business life. His great abilities, his noble qualities of character, and the confidence and respect of the community secured for him high trusts, with personal esteem and affection. His loss is severely felt.

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Mr. CHASE then paid the following tribute: —

I cannot but remember, Mr. President, that I left the last meeting of our Society to go, by Mr. Whitney's invitation, to a small gathering of his friends. He was then, as he always was in any society in which he mingled, conspicuous for his singular charm of manner, kind thought, and affectionate ways; and the great throng, which crowded the neighboring Chapel at his funeral, so soon after he was here for the last time, was drawn thither by the loss of him whom every one, I believe, there present mourned as a dear personal friend.

My recollection of Henry Whitney goes back to my boyhood; and the affection I then formed for him was but deepened as I grew older and came to know him better. The kind attention he showed to children was but one indication of a rare sweetness of disposition. To young men he was always attractive for the ready sympathy and generous recognition he showed when they came to him for assistance or friendly advice. I remember when at Harvard, in the days of small things in athletics and in pocket money as well, when the two boat-clubs were rather tolerated than allowed by the Faculty, that our club found itself in need of assistance from some outside source. It was at length agreed that a form of subscription should be drawn up, and that some of the younger graduates should be asked to assist us. When our paper was prepared, there came the important question who should be asked to head it. Henry Whitney's name came first to mind, and I was deputed to see him. Calling at his house, I somewhat timidly handed him our paper, and told him the hope our club felt that he would give ten dollars for our fund. He smiled, and instantly wrote his name for twice that sum. Then suggesting the names of a few graduates whom he thought would help, he wished us success, with the expression of the prophetic hope that there would soon be a boat-club for each class. Thus it always was with Henry Whitney: he did better than he was expected to do, he gave more than he was asked to give.

Surely some of our older members must remember the charming hospitality with which he entertained the Society at the time of its course of lectures on New England History, given at the Lowell Institute. His fine library, so adorned

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by his superb collection of the various editions of Milton's works, was a striking illustration of his love of books. During the forty years he was in business, with but occasional holidays, he was actively engaged in the management of important trusts; yet with these occupations he found time to take an intelligent interest in many different subjects. He was early chosen a member of this Society, and might fairly have expected to live to see his name at the head of our roll. He was interested, as a young man, in genealogy, and contributed much to the annals of his own family and name. Later in life he became a freemason, and gave much time to the study of the many chapters and orders which, in the course of centuries, have engrafted themselves on that most ancient body.

Yet, after all, it was his simple, generous nature, his manly and honorable life, adorned with so many graces of manner and of deed, of pleasant wit, of kind thought and friendly counsel, that will cause the great number who called Henry Austin Whitney friend long to mourn his loss, and always to keep his memory green in their hearts.

Mr. BANGS was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Whitney.

Dr. DEANE said that he had heard through Mr. B. Marston Watson, of Plymouth, one of the officers of the Pilgrim Society of that place, that they had accepted the offer of the Old Ship, as mentioned in a communication to the Historical Society in December last, and that this interesting relic would be preserved in the basement of Pilgrim Hall. He exhibited a photograph of three clay pipes which had been found in the wreck, and which in shape were characteristic of the pipes used at that day.

Dr. Deane also communicated from Mr. Watson a letter from the Rev. Joseph Lord, of Chatham, of date 1733, to the Rev. Thomas Prince, concerning which Mr. Watson writes: —

"Not long ago I was looking over the papers of a once noted Unitarian clergyman, when I found a letter written more than a hundred and fifty years ago by a minister on Cape Cod, who, it seems, had been taken to task by his brethren for being too zealous in his attack on certain popular errors. He defends himself with great vigor, and urges them to follow his lead; and he strengthens his position with a line or two from Herbert: —

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'God gave thy soul brave wings. Put not those feathers
Into a bed, to sleep out all ill weathers.'"

Mr. Lord's letter here follows: —

REVEREND SIR, — I send herewith one of the last prints, wherein you will find that assertion which you seemed desirous to answer when I was with you: viz. That the ministers are *not true to their solemn promise made in giving the right hand of fellowship.* As to which you thought that the right hand of fellowship did not oblige any minister in his private capacity to give his answer to questions; but only in a publick capacity; as in councils, &c. And when I answered, Questions had been sent to an Association, you said, They had not power from your churches, and so were but in a private capacity, &c.[1] Recollecting which words, and more of like nature that passed at that time, I take occasion to speak a little farther to it now, And what I would say is this: To be helpful to others as there is need is a Christian duty incumbent upon every one[2] so that it is to be like *Cain*, to say *Am I my brothers* keeper? this duty is especially incumbent upon them that associate for Christian fellowship and maintaining the same when it is necessary for upholding of Christ's ordinances. And 'tis more especially incumbent upon them that have solemnly promised it. And thus, I think, it is wholly without warrant to restrain it to what can be done in a public capacity. For that which is the duty of men as Christians, is not to be restrained to what they do in a publick capacity. And if it were; even as ministers they are in a publick capacity, and more obliged to consult the peace of the church in a way of Truth, than private brethren are. Wherefore, as it is not becoming a Christian to see the hedge of the Lord's vineyard torn up, and the stone wall thereof broken down, for fear of meeting with trouble, if he should put in to prevent it: much less is it becoming ministers (whose proper work it is: as is intimated, Tit. 1. 9) not to put themselves into the gap to prevent the treading down of the vineyard: especially when they are under such a solemn promise: even to *come to the help of the Lord*, though it be against the mighty. And this the Divine *Herbert* (as some call him) seems to aim at when he saies,

"God gave thy soul brave wings. Put not those feathers
Into a bed to sleep out all ill weathers."

[1] Mr. Lord mistakes me, for I only said, that the Right Hand of Fellowship did not oblige us to give our answer in *print* or in *writing*, to any Questions the ordained should think fit to propose; but we are left to our own prudence and liberty to judge of the expediences of either. — PRINCE'S *note*.

[2] Tis very true: But then I am not constrained to help him in that particular way which he would have: but in that which seems most advisable and proper to me, whether by printing, writing, or word of mouth, &c., and whether in a private or publick capacity, &c. — PRINCE'S *note*.

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[If] I had thought it would have consisted with my duty I had the advantage to have slept [in a w]hole skin as well as others. But I think that would not have consisted with my duty, [as it] would with my inclination. And I have sometimes thought that I met with the more trouble [by] my so much complying with Potchy as I did at first: through a backwardness to [*torn*] I foresaw would get their ill will. This with due respects to all with you, is all at present from,

Yours to serve you

JOSEPH LORD.

CHATHAM, 9 (5) 1783.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following paper: —

At the last meeting of the Society a serial number of the Proceedings was placed on the table, which contained an account of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, communicated by our Corresponding Member, Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University. The report of the trial was found among the papers of President Ezra Stiles, and had been "copied by him while a pastor in Newport, in 1771, from an original manuscript not now traceable." It would be of considerable interest now to know the whereabouts of the missing manuscript, as it has some historical value. It may, however, yet turn up, when and where it is least expected. Akin to the subject I will say that another volume apparently belonging to the same set was once in the possession of our late associate, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, and exhibited by him at a meeting of this Society. In the Proceedings (vol. vii. p. 417) for August, 1864, it is recorded: —

Dr. Webb read extracts from a manuscript volume in the handwriting of Robert Keayne of Boston, consisting of notes of sermons preached by John Cotton, and of ecclesiastical proceedings of the First Church. Dr. Webb stated that the volume corresponded in appearance and character with another manuscript-book of Keayne, now in the archives of this Society.

According to the manuscript records of the August meeting, which are somewhat fuller than appear in the printed Proceedings, the owner of the volume, whose name is not given, wished to sell it, and with that end in view the book was exhibited. On the fly-leaf was written: "Robert Keyne of Bost: New England his Booke, 1643." In point of time, it

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follows immediately, or nearly so, the volume referred to as belonging to the Society, which is evidently a continuation of the one used by President Stiles. In fact, the opening paragraph of the copy in this Library mentions "another Booke," which is without doubt the missing volume quoted by Stiles. Besides the abstracts of sermons, it contains a report of two curious cases of ecclesiastical discipline, — one against Sergeant Richard Wait, and the other against Mrs. Ann Hibbens, — in which nearly all the church members express themselves in regard to the points in controversy. With the change of a few words, Stiles's description of the manuscript would answer nearly as well for the copy now in the Library. It is a quarto volume of 584 closely written pages, bound in leather, and consists of an expansion of notes, taken probably from the mouth of the preacher. The first entry is dated Nov. 23, 1639, and the last one, May 22, 1642; and on the *verso* of the fly-leaf is written "Robert Keayne of Boston in New England his Book 1639. Price 6ˢ." If the manuscript used by Stiles was once, as he says, "among a Family Collection of Books & Manuscripts of the Rev. Mʳ Wilson, first Pastor of Boston," it is highly probable that the Society's copy was also at one time in the minister's library. It may be noted here that Keayne and Wilson married sisters. The manuscript was in the possession of the Society before October, 1809, though it is not now known either when or by whom it was given. On a fly-leaf at the end of the volume is written: "Mihi missus est Junii die undecimo 1747 J S. ex cognato S T. Warrensii." Presumably the initials S. T. stand for Solomon Townsend, and the date rather confirms the statement made by President Stiles that Mr. Wilson's library was scattered near the middle of the last century. (See page 161.) The book begins: —

Mʳ Cotton. ouʳ Teacher. his. Sermons. or. Expositions. vpon the Bookes. of the New Testament vpon. the Lordes dayes in the fforenoone att Boston. in N. England. begininge at the 27th chapter. of Mathue haueinge gone ouer the rest of this. Euayngelist. allready: in another Booke.

Perhaps eighty pages of the manuscript, though they are not consecutive ones in either instance, are given up to the trials of Sergeant Richard Wait and Mrs. Ann Hibbens. The

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first entry in Sergeant Wait's case comes immediately after the expository lecture of April 20, 1640, and is as follows:—

Elder Oliuer calls out Richard Waight. y^{t} had bin longe. excomuicated. to see if he could giue satisfaction to the church for his reeturinge agayne. as. he desiers. he is now ready. to make confession. of such thinges. as are past & if you wilbe willinge to hear him. . . .

The charge against Wait at this time is not given *totidem verbis*, but may be inferred from what Mr. Cotton says at a continuation of the hearing, which is recorded just after the "exposition" of July 20, 1640, as follows:—

Brothe^{r} Waight. you know. how fa^{r} the church. hath proseded wth you. about you^{r} wicked confederacy wth Leicesto^{r}, w^{ch} when some of the Bretheren delt wth you about, you did vtterly deny. y^{t} you neuer. had any. familliaretie wth him, nor did neuer drinke wth him. but ouer at ou^{r} Brother Turners & yet since it is playnly proued. & yo^{r}selfe. haue confessed since. that you haue had often meetings & drinkinges. wth him.

As a result of the long hearing Wait was restored to his former position in the church.

Mrs. Hibbens's case is first considered immediately after the sermon of Sept. 13, 1640, and heard at two later meetings, though the final decision was not reached until the succeeding February. Her transgression is learned, inferentially, from what "Brother Dauis" testifies. He says:—

The offence was. betweene M^{rs} Hibbens & my selfe. & some others that w^{ch} I haue to lay to her charge was an vntruth or a lye or 2. that she tould, as alsoe that she accused me of a combination; and sayd. that the Timbers. of the Roome would crye for Judgment agaynst me, and yet she did not deale wth me, accordinge to the Rule of the word.

The next hearing took place on Sept. 20, 1640, when Mrs. Hibbens and her husband each had something to say before the brethren. Both of these meetings were held on a Sunday, but the third and last hearing was on a Monday. It is recorded:—

therfor this meetinge was not one the Lords day. but apoynted one purpose to be. one a second day. of the weeke. beinge. the first day. of the 12th month. 1640. that strangers might come.

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At the conclusion of the trial on Feb. 1, 1640–41, Mr. Cotton, the minister, addressed Mrs. Hibbens, in a public admonition ending with these words: —

I doe. from this time forward. pronounce you. an. excomuicatd pson. from god. & his people.

After the remarks of the pastor the following is given: —

Elder Leueret Then Mrs Hibbens, you are. to dept the Congregation; as one depriued. worthely. of all the holy thinges of god.

Pastor. Let vs now seeke. to god by praye^r & call vpo. him. for a blessinge. vpon this Ordinance.

M^r Hibbens [the husband] I desier leaue. to speake. one word befo^r the Congregation be dismissed.

Pastor. Speake on.

M^r Hibbens It is my humble & arnest request to the Congregation, first to. our. Reuerend. Elders, & then to euery Brother and Sister in the Congregation, that both in publike & priuat thay wo^ld remember my afflicted condition. befor the Lord, & earnestly pray to god. that this Ordinance of his may be sanctified to my wife. for the good of her soule. & for the returninge of her. backe agayne. first to hir selfe. & then vnto you. & y^t is all I haue to say.

The excommunication of poor Mrs. Hibbens was among the least of her troubles, for fifteen years later, — on June 19, 1656, — she was hanged as a witch. Even during the period of her ecclesiastical trial she was considered by some persons as unsettled in her mind; and the public admonition by the church must have had an irritating effect on her excited imagination. Both her shattered reason and her reputation for heresy tended to make this unfortunate woman a victim to the witchcraft delusion. Mrs. Hibbens was a sister of Governor Richard Bellingham, who suffered at times from an aberration of intellect; and perhaps there was some inherited taint of insanity, which would explain in part her peculiarities.

Mr. LINCOLN reported that the committee appointed by this Society on the publication of the Province Laws had presented to the Committee on Printing of the House of Representatives a paper by Judge Devens, embodying reasons why the work should be completed.[1]

[1] This petition may be found on pages 90, 91, of a pamphlet entitled "Publication of the Province Laws: A Stenographic Report of the Hearing before the Joint

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Professor HAYNES then spoke as follows in reference to Daniel Webster's allusion to a speech of Colonel Titus on the Exclusion Bill: —

The entertaining account given at our last meeting by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., of his unremunerated toil in deciphering a paper preserved in the Winthrop collection, which turned out to be a speech of the first Earl of Shaftesbury upon the Exclusion Bill of 1680, that can be found in print in his Life by B. Martyn, recalled to my recollection another speech made on the same occasion by quite a different man, to which Daniel Webster once referred in a well-known political address. I have thought it might be not without interest to others also to recall the allusion.

In the "Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster" (vol. ii. p. 284), under date of "Marshfield, August 28, 1848," is the following note, addressed to Edward Everett: —

MY DEAR SIR, — A member of the House of Commons *tempore Car.* 2d, in debate on the Exclusion Bill, is said to have spoken these lines: —

> "I hear a lion in the lobby roar;
> Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
> And keep him out, or shall we let him in
> And see if we can get him out again?"

Now, can you tell me where these lines are to be found? Are they in Hume, Burnet, or where else?

Four days later the quotation was introduced into his speech at Marshfield (Works of Daniel Webster, vol. ii. p. 443), as an illustration of the advantage of our not acquiring any new territory as a result of the treaty of peace with Mexico. Since none of his editors have given any intimation of the origin of these lines, I infer that it was unknown to them.

They are to be found in a poem, entitled "The Art of Politics, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, by the Reverend Mr. Bramston," and are included in the well-known "Collection of Poems in six volumes by several hands, with notes. London; printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall Mall, 1782;"

Standing Committee on Printing of the Legislature of 1889, on the order introduced in the House by Mr. Shepard, of Danvers, Jan. 11, 1889, to investigate the work of the Commission on the Province Laws." — EDS.

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to which four volumes were added the following year by J. Pearch. The poem in question is in the first volume (p. 276), and a note appended tells us that the author was "Vicar of Starting, in Sussex. He was of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of M. A., April 5, 1720. He died the 16th of March, 1744." The only other information in regard to him that I have happened to meet with is in Thomas Campbell's "Specimens of the British Poets," who says of James Bramston, —

"I have applied to many individuals for information respecting the personal history of this writer, but have not been able to obtain it, even from the quarters where it was most likely to be found. He was born, probably, about the year 1700; was of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of A. M.; and was finally Vicar of Starting, in Sussex. Besides 'The Man of Taste,' he wrote a political satire entitled 'The Art of Politics,' and 'The Crooked Sixpence,' in imitation of Philips' 'Splendid Shilling.'"

Campbell then goes on to quote the whole of "The Man of Taste," which also in Dodsley's Collection follows "The Art of Politics."

Mr. Webster's recollection was not quite accurate in supposing that the comparison was originally made in verse or in its precise language. I will quote the whole passage as it is found, and the notes appended to it (p. 287): —

"With art and modesty your part maintain,
And talk like Col'nel Titus, not like Lane.
The trading knight with rants his speech begins,
Sun, moon, and stars, and dragons, saints, and kings.
But Titus said, with his uncommon sense,
When the exclusion-bill was in suspense,
I hear a lion in the lobby roar;
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
And keep him there, or shall we let him in
To try if we can turn him out again?"

The notes inform us that "Sir Richard Lane was member for Worcester in the year 1727;" also that—

"In a debate on the exclusion bill, January 7, 1680, Colonel Titus, amongst other things, observed, 'If a lion was in the lobby, and we were to consider which way to secure ourselves from him, and conclude it is best to shut the door and keep him out,' 'No,' says another,

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'let us chain him and let him come in; but I should be loth to put the chain on.' Should the nomination of the judges and all other preferments be in your hands, what kind of a government would you have, without feet or hands? As such a king cannot hurt you, so he cannot protect you. It has been said by another, 'Let us establish a good council about the king.' But I never knew a king and his council of a different opinion. A wise king has, and also makes, a wise council; but a wise council does not always make a wise king," etc. — *Grey's Debates*, vol. viii. p. 279.

Both of Bramston's poems are very pleasant reading, and I have no doubt Mr. Webster enjoyed them, as he turned over the pages of Dodsley's Collection, which, I think, he somewhere says he once did. Several years ago I added a few citations from them to Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations," including the present one, without however alluding to Mr. Webster's use of it.

Dr. William Everett has called my attention to "The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," which Lord Braybrooke edited for the Camden Society in 1844. In the genealogical table appended to it appears the name of "James Bramston, clerk, Rector of Ludgershall, author of 'The Man of Feeling,' and other poems." I think this must be intended for our author, and that Lord Braybrooke confused the title of his poem, "The Man of Taste," with Henry Mackenzie's novel, "The Man of Feeling," which appeared in 1771. If this is so, James Bramston was a great-grandson of the Chief Justice Brampston, of Charles the First's time, who procured the opinion of the judges about the legality of ship-money, which John Hampden resisted.

Dr. PEABODY communicated a memoir which he had written of James Freeman Clarke.

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MEMOIR

OF

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D.D.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

THE grandfather of James Freeman Clarke, Samuel Clarke, a Boston merchant, married Martha Curtis, and died in 1780, leaving an only child, bearing his own name, and less than two years old. In 1788 his widow married Rev. (afterward Dr.) James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, and a resident of Newton, who became not only the stepfather, but in the most beneficent sense the foster-father, of her son. The son married Rebecca Parker, daughter of Gen. William Hull, of Newton. After his marriage he studied medicine, and for a while lived at Hanover, New Hampshire, to enjoy the tuition of Dr. Nathan Smith, then second in reputation to no other physician or surgeon in New England. At Hanover, James Freeman, the third child of this marriage, was born, April 4, 1810. Before the close of that year Dr. Clarke returned to Massachusetts. The whole family lived at first with Dr. and Mrs. Freeman, afterward occupied a house in the neighborhood of their summer residence, belonging to Miss Sarah Curtis, Dr. Clarke's aunt, and subsequently removed to Boston. James, though sometimes living with the family, spent the greater part of the time with his grandmother, was virtually, though without any legal formality, adopted by Dr. Freeman, held in his else childless household the favored position of an only child, and grew up wholly under his influence. Not that in his father's family there would have been any other type of home-training, but he always regarded the Newton parsonage as his home, and it was evidently with reluctance that, as a matter of exact history, he was sometimes obliged to speak of Dr. Freeman as not really his grandfather.

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Dr. Freeman is to the generation now on the stage merely a venerated name. To those who knew him he was not only an eminently good man, but one of those symmetrical and evenly balanced characters which, adequate to almost any position or service, seem specially fitted for the charge and culture of youth; and while James was in his mental traits and habits as unlike his grandfather as he could well be, there were indelible impressions made in childhood upon his moral nature which were distinctly visible in his college life, and which underlay his entire career. The purity and integrity, the delicate and discriminating moral sense, the quiet, unostentatious courage, the singleness of aim, the tenacity of purpose, the candid estimate of men, opinions and measures, the comprehensiveness of charity, which marked the younger man in his widely extended sphere of service, were no less characteristic of the elder, who met theological rancor and odium, in his early ministry, with the same meek, gentle and catholic spirit in which he performed the faithful work of his prime, and enjoyed the honored and hallowed repose of his old age.

Of the grandson we have the testimony of one who had "known him in infancy, in youth, in manhood, and in age," that he was from first to last "the same, — kind, amiable, generous, and high-principled; and as boy and man he feared nothing but evil."

The first record that we find of James is that of his baptism in King's Chapel, when he was a year old, and when, safe in the arms of his beloved grandfather, he surveyed the scene and the audience with smiling curiosity, and with the perfect quietness and self-possession which from that day onward can have seldom been disturbed.

He was a very active boy, fond of athletic sports, and so expert a climber that there was hardly a tree in the neighborhood with whose higher branches he was not familiar. At the same time he was a quick and apt scholar, especially in mathematics and in Latin, in which Dr. Freeman was for his time an adept. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1821, and was there under the tuition of Benjamin Apthorp Gould, whose scholarly attainments, wise discipline, and high character gave to the school the pre-eminent reputation which it has never lost, and of Frederic Percival Leverett, his submaster and successor, whose Latin Dictionary could have been

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superseded only from veins of classical and linguistic research which have been opened since his death. James, however, always ascribed his scholarly tastes and proficiency to his grandfather's superior teaching capacity, and gave him the credit of having anticipated the more rational methods of classical instruction which are superseding the former grinding and scantily fruitful toil with grammar and dictionary.

James entered Harvard College in 1825, after but four years at the Latin School; while nearly twenty of his classmates at school were his juniors in college by one, two, or three years. He was among the younger members of his college class; and while faithful in his work, exemplary in conduct, and of recognized ability and promise, he did not distinguish himself as a scholar. But his educational advantages during those four years were of a very high order. Though little instruction was given in connection with the daily recitations, there was great interest in various courses of lectures, some of them by resident professors, most of them by non-residents, who brought to the lecture-room the prestige of eminent reputation, and the learning and eloquence that had won and deserved it. Dr. Follen had then recently taken his place in the corps of teachers, and had introduced the study of the German language and literature, which till his time had no place in the college curriculum. He had also made the first breaches in the barrier which had precluded the students from intimate relations with the Faculty. He had, moreover, introduced a system of gymnastic training, which was made availing by all who were not physically incapacitated for it, and to which not a few of the students — probably Clarke among the number — were largely indebted for lifelong power of labor and endurance. The Class of 1829, too, was in itself a university, and to belong to it was little less than a liberal education. It contained more men who in after life achieved distinction than any class that had graduated since 1802; and of these men there was not one whose superior endowments were not recognized by his associates. In the days when students were not permitted to spend a night out of Cambridge, when they had no outside interests or occupations, and when most of the college societies were hard-working associations for mutual improvement in literature or science, there could scarcely have been one of that class who became

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well known in the larger world, who would not have acknowledged his great indebtedness to each and all of those who stood on the same high plane with himself. Of society beyond the college walls Clarke can have had but little; for such social life as young men would have enjoyed or sought was just beginning in Cambridge when he graduated. But before that time he had become acquainted with Margaret Fuller, whose friendship he enjoyed as long as she lived, and who, though but a month his senior, had at that early age a maturity of intellect, a range and depth of culture, and a power of influence, which made association with her an important factor in the shaping and direction of such minds as she was willing to treat on equal terms.

Mr. Clarke entered the Divinity School in 1829, in the term immediately succeeding his graduation; but the death of his father, in November, 1830, rendered it desirable for him to seek means of pecuniary self-help, and he suspended his professional studies to take charge of a school in Cambridgeport, — a work which he found congenial, and which left with him only happy remembrances. He was wont to recur to a unique experience, which might make one almost regret that his employment for a few months had not been his permanent profession. He took, as he said, special pleasure in watching and aiding the awakening processes in the minds of reputedly dull scholars. Who can tell how many intellects might be created seemingly out of nothing, were teachers to bestow thought, care and effort on their pupils in inverse proportion to their apparent ability?

Mr. Clarke subsequently joined the class that entered the Divinity School in 1830, and graduated in 1833. It was known by all his fellow-students that he could be only one of the leading minds in his profession. He was not so much a hard student, as a prompt and earnest recipient of the most and the best that could be got from books and from men; while he was already endowed with the unostentatious and seemingly unconscious power of strongly impressing other minds with whatever had possession of his own. He had wonderful alertness in thought and in utterance, and his self-culture, with no lack of depth, was remarkable for its breadth. In the discussions, whether formal or casual, which filled a large space in the life of Divinity Hall, no one would have

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been missed so much as he; for he was never silent, and never spoke but to say what was well worth our hearing. He entered the active ministry with a facility of speech and of written composition, and a capacity of adapting himself to time, place and audience, which with many successful ministers is of slow and late acquisition.

After leaving the Divinity School, Mr. Clarke preached once in Waltham, and then accepted a call to the pastorate of a new Unitarian church in Louisville, Kentucky, reaching that city on the 4th of August, 1833. This was a position which needed a maturity of wisdom rarely found in a young man of twenty-three, with no prior experience of the outside world. His progress at the outset was so slow that a less hopeful man would have been utterly discouraged and disheartened. The sole representative in that region of a type of theological belief little known and less esteemed, never concealing his own convictions, and using all fit means of propagandism, — he yet came into friendly relations with the best men and women of all denominations, and was regarded by the whole community with respect and confidence. Strongly opposed to slavery, and never cloaking his abhorrence of it, he attempted with regard to it only such influence as he could make availing, — such as was sensibly felt in an ever-widening circle, and outlasted the lifetime of slavery. Finding the duel, in certain cases, required by the unwritten law of the land, he was able so to denounce this barbarous custom as to convince some minds at least of its absurdity and wickedness, without incurring an hostility which would have more than neutralized his influence in that behalf. Not content with faithful work in his special calling, he edited, from 1835 to 1839, a magazine entitled "The Western Messenger," which had been established in Cincinnati by Rev. Ephraim Peabody, and after his failure in health was removed to Louisville. For this, Mr. Clarke, in addition to fresh and able religious and theological articles, furnished a large amount of valuable literary matter, both of his own authorship, and from the ready contributions of his friends in Cincinnati and in Massachusetts.[1] When he resigned his charge

[1] It is worthy of note that several of Emerson's earliest poems — some of those which have contributed most largely to his reputation as a poet — were

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in Louisville he left, instead of a feeble church whose continued existence was a matter of great doubt, a strong religious organization, bearing some of the most honored names in the city on its roll of membership, singularly active and efficient in all local charities, and contributing generously to the diffusion of its own faith in the West.

In 1839 Mr. Clarke married Anna, the eldest daughter of H. J. Huidekoper, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, who made for him one of the happiest of homes, whose unintermitted helpfulness lightened his cares and burdens, and whose tender ministries shed peace and gladness over his last months of infirmity and decline.

His Western residence remained a bright spot in his memory, and he left it with the utmost reluctance. But he had not ceased to be in heart a Bostonian, and he was strongly urged by Dr. Channing and other New England friends to return eastward, in the belief that there were both room and need for his services where he was still so lovingly remembered. At the same time he was unwilling that his family should live permanently under the blighting shadow of domestic slavery. He therefore, in May, 1840, left Louisville, and returned to what he regarded as virtually his native city, in which for nearly half a century he maintained a position second to that of no other man, — not only as a Christian minister, but equally as a citizen identified with every public interest, with every charitable enterprise, with every philanthropic movement.

His reputation as a preacher would have insured for him a welcome to the first vacancy in a pulpit of his own denomination. But he had adopted what was deemed a peculiar theory of the ministry, — the theory, however, which must have underlain the practice of the primitive church, and which has its earliest exposition in the Epistle of Saint James. He regarded the church, its place of worship, its ordinances, and its ministrations, as rightfully free, as equally appertaining to persons of all sorts and conditions, and as fitly sustained only by voluntary offerings. Always unshrinkingly loyal to his convictions, he determined to be minister of such

first published in this magazine, with the modest permission to Mr. Clarke to make use of them if he thought them worth printing.

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a church, or of none. The idea was repugnant to the habits and the prejudices of the Boston public, and the experiment had never, it is believed, been tried in New England under Protestant auspices.

Mr. Clarke gathered a small congregation, partly of personal friends, partly from among the few who were in full sympathy with him as to his proposed method. The society was organized in February, 1841. It grew rapidly till 1845, when Mr. Clarke took the bold step of exchanging pulpits with Theodore Parker, — not, as he expressly asserted, because he agreed with Parker in opinion, but because he regarded him as an honest and devout Christian man, and as therefore wrongfully excluded from Christian fellowship. This measure led to the withdrawal from his church of a large minority of its members, who established a new society, and built a church edifice in Bedford Street.

Mr. Clarke's remaining flock lost not heart or hope; and while he was their pastor, it was impossible that their loss in numbers should not be more than replaced. They soon found themselves able to erect a very commodious little chapel in Freeman Place, which was dedicated on the 15th of March, 1848. But their growth was checked, and their existence imperilled, in 1850, by the serious illness of their minister, who for nearly three years performed but little clerical service, spending a part of the time at his wife's home in Meadville, and nine months of it in Europe. During this interval the Freeman Place Chapel was sold; but the society retained its organization, and he was able sometimes to visit them and to preach to them. After his return to them with renewed health, in 1853, they worshipped for a time in Williams Hall, and afterward in the Indiana Place Chapel. The society emerged at once into vigorous life, increasing constantly, not only in numbers, but still more, in strength, in strenuous Christian purpose, and in every mode of religious endeavor and activity. The narrow quarters which had more than sufficed for its infancy were no longer adequate to its needs, and the present church edifice of the Church of the Disciples, in Brookline Street, was erected, — a building admirably adapted for all kinds of church work, with an ample and well-arranged audience-hall, a capacious lecture and Sunday-school room, and smaller apartments for social gatherings and

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entertainments, and for the pastor's private use. This building was dedicated on the 28th of February, 1869. Since Dr. Clarke's return to his society, it has had uninterrupted prosperity, has done its full share of labor for the poor and unprivileged, and has never failed of generous subsidies to denominational and public charities. These latter years of Dr. Clarke's life have been, in the ordinary sense of the word, uneventful, yet in fact intensely eventful, — its epochs of successful labor, whether in the pulpit, in authorship, in social influence, in religious propagandism, in public service, having followed one another too closely for distinct enumeration or record.

Dr. Clarke reached the close of his seventy-sixth year in unimpaired health and working power. For the last two years of his life he was enfeebled, and for a time seemed hopelessly disabled. During the summer of 1887 it was feared that he would never again enter the pulpit; but prolonged rest, faithful care, and the sea-breezes of Magnolia so far restored him that he preached frequently through the following winter and spring, wrote new — and never better — sermons, and entered with heart and soul, though no longer in active participation, into every interest of the church and the community. His last sermons were a series of eight, on the Lord's Prayer, in part new, in part revised from earlier manuscripts; several of which he delivered in the usual way, though with an effort painful to his friends; one of which he read from the pulpit when he was too feeble to stand; while the last was read by a friend when he could no longer be present at the service. His decline was gradual, with frequent intervals of freedom from suffering, and without the slightest failure as to clearness and strength of mind. He was fully aware of approaching dissolution, spoke of the future beyond death with the assurance of even more than faith, made every possible arrangement for the relief and comfort of those who should survive him, and awaited the closing hour in perfect peace. He passed away on the 8th of June, 1888. On the 11th the funeral was attended at the Church of the Disciples, with every demonstration of gratitude for his services, honor to his memory, and grief for the loss of one than whom none held a higher place in the reverence and affection of his fellow-citizens.

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In estimating Dr. Clarke's character, the first place should be assigned to what was manifestly its shaping, pervading, and controlling element, — his religious principle and feeling, — a principle so steadfast and uniform as to sustain constant and equable feeling rather than vivid and intermittent emotion. The consecration of all that he was to the service of God, by serving his fellow-men, seemed to him the most natural thing to be done; and he did it in the most natural way, without ostentation or trumpet-sounding or self-praise, and evidently without reckoning any other plan of life as among things possible. Thus religion had not the appearance of being superimposed upon the man, but rather that of being a part of himself. This naturalness, which was more than sincerity, was among the chief springs of his surpassing power over other minds, and made his influence intensely felt wherever and in whatever cause it was exerted.

He was by no means wanting in imaginative inspiration, as may be seen in what he gave the world both in poetry and in fiction; and but for the supreme aim of which he never lost sight, he would have held, as a writer in some other department, as high a place as is accorded to him in the literature more intimately connected with his own profession. What especially characterized his mind was its keen and deep insight into all subjects that came under his cognizance. He went to the heart of things. While he bowed in devout humility before the real mysteries which the finite mind cannot fathom, he had no tolerance for dim lights and cloudy utterances in realms of thought fairly open to the human understanding. His opinions were clear, distinct, definite; and until they had become so, he would not own them as opinions. It hardly needs to be said, after this statement, that he was wont to found his beliefs on what seemed to him adequate grounds. He had no opinions as to which he could not tell how and why he held them. He did not, like some good men, believe what he felt, and because he felt it; but he profoundly felt what he believed, and because he believed it. Moreover, because he always sought reasons for his beliefs, he examined all the aspects of the subject under consideration, and was as familiar with what he repudiated as with what he accepted as true and sound. He therefore could always do ample justice to those from whom he differed.

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The first mental peculiarity that I noted in him when I made his acquaintance more than sixty years ago, was his ability to reason equally well on both sides of a question. With the impulsive one-sidedness not unnatural in a young man, I was disposed to consider this capacity or habit as a weakness; I came to regard it as an invaluable element of strength. The very last time that I heard an argument from him was on a Board of which we both were members, and were on opposite sides of an important question. I thought that I knew how he was going to vote, when to my surprise he made on my side the strongest argument of the day, and then added, "These considerations would determine my vote, were it not for a principle in which I have implicit confidence, on which I have always acted, and which has been uniformly justified by my observation and experience." He stated his principle, and voted in accordance with it; and though I then dissented from him, I now believe that he was in the right. He was thus, in the only good sense of the term, Janus-faced, while he was as far as possible from being two-sided. His position on all important subjects was promptly taken, unmistakably defined, and firmly maintained; and it was often, as is that of every wise man, a position midway between two extremes, and therefore on the one hand needing double defence, and on the other hand placing him in the kindest relations with those on either side of him. Thus, as a Unitarian Christian, an earnest believer in historical Christianity, and recognizing in his own experience the worth and power of truths distinctively evangelical, he was at once an able and persistent advocate of his own system of theology, and in unconstrained fellowship with the more liberal members of the (so-called) orthodox churches, and with reverent and pure-hearted men who held what he deemed inadequate views of the person, life and work of Jesus Christ. As regards ecclesiastical organization, while so strongly attached to his own method that he would not have consented to serve under any other arrangement, he was so fully aware of the evils and dangers contingent on a premature disruption of the old system, that his propagandism in this behalf was confined to the example which he enabled his own church to place before the world. In every department of social reform he was an early, ready and efficient laborer, but never unmindful of the reasons why

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men, both wise and good, might not join hands with him; preferring, where possible, measures that would unite rather than divide the moral force of the community, and never giving countenance to the denunciation and proscription of those who withheld their support from causes in which he was in his own person unsparing of labor and of sacrifice.

The habit of mind of which I am speaking was of no little value to him as a preacher. The first characteristic which impressed his hearers was his manifest sincerity. He preached only what he believed and felt, and he thus gave a clear insight into his own mind and heart. But mere sincerity, though an essential gift, cannot make a great preacher. He owed his eminent success, in a large measure, to his thorough comprehension of the entire field of thought to which his subject appertained, so that his own views of ethical and religious truth were clearly discriminated in their more or less cognate or adverse relation to opinions elsewhere maintained. His sermons were demonstrations or expositions of what he regarded as essential truths or duties, in their manifoldness of form, detail, or application; and no one could hear him without a distinct apprehension, often, indeed, of an old and well-worn subject, but if so, of that subject in relations and adaptations in which he had never thought of it before.

As for style, no one could more fully than Dr. Clarke exemplify Buffon's often quoted saying, "The style is the man." He alone can write well, to whom it is, or has become, natural to speak well, and whose only care in writing is to make himself understood. Especially in the pulpit, an artificial, elaborate, ambitious style dilutes thought and maims argument. Dr. Clarke wrote precisely as, with his elegant culture and refined taste, he would have talked on the same subjects. He had always an easy flow of language, and in hearing him speak extemporaneously one missed nothing that belonged to his written discourse. Yet he seldom preached without a fully written manuscript, — the method best suited to one who, like him, set prime value on literal accuracy of statement, and was unwilling to say in public what would not bear his own careful revision and criticism.

Dr. Clarke's oratory was in close harmony with his style. It was not oratory in any designed or elaborate sense. It was the reading of his manuscript in the most natural way, by a

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man whose own mind was full of what he had written, and who earnestly desired to make the minds of his hearers equally full of it. He therefore spoke always with vivacity and energy. But the great merit of his delivery was that one might be his constant hearer, and always edified and delighted, without thinking of him as a speaker, or being able to describe his method. Had he been talking on the subject of his sermon with a person whom he was laboring to convince or persuade, his manner would have been very much the same as when he was addressing a full congregation.

It may be doubted whether in the Boston pulpit any other man has filled so large a place so long. His church was growing till there was little room left for it to grow. Those who joined it were hardly ever separated from it but by death, and of its constant attendants there were not a few who, in order to remain so, far exceeded the wonted limits of "a Sabbath-day's journey." He generally occupied his own pulpit, and in the minds of his congregation no one could supply his place. He filled out his seventy-eighth year without the slightest failure of his power as a preacher, and was never heard with more interest or with more conscious benefit than when those who watched his waning strength with every sermon feared that it might be his last. He had, too, a much larger audience than his voice could reach. For many years his Sunday morning sermon was published in one of the Boston newspapers, and the paper containing it was kept by hundreds of purchasers for the next Sunday's reading. Extracts from his sermons were also published weekly for several years by an English religious newspaper, entitled "The Christian Life," which printed in full his last sermons on the Lord's Prayer, and from which they were reprinted in a volume, in London, after his death.

Dr. Clarke was no less beloved as a pastor than admired as a preacher. Living, as he did, at Jamaica Plain, he was exempted from many of the harassing and distracting labors usually imposed upon a city minister. He was out of the track of agents, professional beggars, and other merciless wasters of clerical time. But to those whom he could serve by counsel, sympathy or material aid, he was always as near as their nearest neighbor, and the threads of intercourse with the widely scattered members of his flock were as telegraphic

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wires to command, in every stress of need, his presence, sympathy and helpfulness. Then, too, the basement rooms of his church furnished means of communication with him at frequent social meetings, and in his own special and often-visited apartment.

Dr. Clarke, through the press, filled a very large place with the reading public; and while in quality his writings are, without exception, worthy memorials of his learning, culture, taste, and genius, in quantity they far exceed what could have been expected from one whose only rest from active duty was the enforced rest of an invalid. To be sure, a part of what he published had done service in the pulpit, but by no means the greater part; and no small portion of it demanded profound study and elaborate research. The volumes on the "Ten Great Religions," in point of thoroughness and comprehensiveness, might well have issued from the cloistered seclusion of a university, rather than from the scanty leisure of one of the busiest of men. The treatise on Saint Paul, and that on the Fourth Gospel, show his familiarity with the entire ground covered by these titles, and his ability to hold his equal place with writers who make such subjects their specialty. Some of his works, as will be seen by the list appended to this Memoir, appertain to dogmatic, and what is commonly called and commonly is polemic theology, — with him, however, never polemic, but always appreciative and kindly in the treatment of opinions other than his own, and of their honest advocates. He was one of that very small class of men in whom their opponents can confide for a fair statement of their opinions and arguments.

Beside his books his printed pamphlets must have been reckoned by hundreds; and his contributions to periodical literature were more numerous, and more varied in their scope, than those of any other man within my knowledge. In addition to his work for the Western Messenger, of which I have already spoken, and for the Christian World, — of which, for its life of two or three years, he was one of the editors, — he wrote for the North American Review, the Christian Examiner, the Dial, the Atlantic Monthly, the Christian Register, the Christian Inquirer, the Independent, and the Christian Union, — for some of them regularly for a series of years; and with these incessant demands upon him he never lapsed into

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carelessness, betrayed undue precipitancy in thought or in expression, or suffered to go from his pen what it would have been for his reputation to recall.

With his unintermitted professional and literary labors, Dr. Clarke entered with wise and persistent energy into every interest that could fitly claim the sympathy and co-operation of a Christian citizen. His educational services alone fill a large chapter in his life. He was Superintendent of Public Schools in Louisville at a time when, in all the Western and Southern cities, that department was under the control of New England men. He was for many years a member of the School Committee of West Roxbury (before its annexation to Boston), attended constantly to the duties of the office, and wrote the Annual Reports. He was also for several years an active and efficient member of the State Board of Education. He gave a great deal of attention to text-books and modes of teaching, and did all in his power to replace the artificial and perfunctory methods, which have nothing but tradition in their favor, by the exercise of the pupil's own mind under the teacher's prompting and guidance. During his residence at Meadville, though in feeble health, he gave instruction in the Divinity School, not only in theology, but in gymnastics. For the teaching of astronomy — in which he was a scientific adept no less than a diligent observer — he invented an astronomical lantern, with card-board slides, containing charts that represent different sections of the starry heavens, — an apparatus that can hardly fail of becoming widely known and extensively useful.

Dr. Clarke maintained, during his entire residence in Boston, beneficial relations with Harvard University, which, in 1863, honored itself and him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. For four years, as a non-resident professor, he delivered invaluable courses of lectures to the Divinity students. For nearly twenty years he was on the Board of Overseers, took a leading part in its business, and was always chairman or member of several of its most important committees. At the same time his occasional, though too infrequent, appearance in the college pulpit gave him the welcome opportunity for a ministration which he knew how to make peculiarly appropriate and impressive.

Dr. Clarke was a constant and earnest worker in the anti-

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slavery cause, and all the more zealously and persistently, because he had early knowledge and experience of the injury done by the institution of slavery to the white race no less than to the negro; but he never suffered himself to forget that it had among its supporters and defenders men worthy of the highest respect for their moral worth and religious principle.

Dr. Clarke laid no little stress on his responsibility as a citizen. He regarded the exercise of the right of suffrage as a duty which he never failed to perform; and he felt himself bound to attend primary meetings, and to employ his political influence at such times and in such ways as the public welfare might demand. He thus rightly regarded his profession, not as exempting him from any of his obligations as a citizen, but as requiring of him the example of their conscientious and faithful discharge.

It cannot need to be added that, in all the relations of home, kindred, friendship, and society, Dr. Clarke had the implicit confidence, the profound honor and reverence, and the warm affection of all within the smaller and the larger circle; that he has left only the most precious memories; and that to very many hearts, and in many homes beside his own, his departure is a loss in this world utterly irreparable.

The following is a list of such of Dr. Clarke's publications as appeared in bound volumes. No attempt has been made to procure a catalogue of his smaller works.

Theodore; or, The Sceptic's Conversion. Translated from the German of De Wette, and printed in George Ripley's "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature," Vols. XI. and XII. Boston, 1841.

Service Book for the Church of the Disciples. Boston, 1844.

Disciples' Hymn Book. Boston, 1844. Twelve editions.

History of the Campaign of 1812, and Defence of Gen. William Hull for the Surrender of Detroit. New York, 1848.

Eleven Weeks in Europe.[1] Boston, 1852.

Memoirs of Margaret Fuller, Marchioness D'Ossoli, written in connection with William H. Channing and Ralph W. Emerson. Boston, 1852.

Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness of Sin. Boston, 1852. Four editions.

[1] A narrative of a vacation tour earlier and shorter than that referred to in the Memoir.

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Christian Doctrine of Prayer. Boston, 1852. Seven editions.

Karl Hase's Life of Jesus. A Manual for Academic Study. Translated from the German of the third and fourth improved editions. Boston, 1860.

The Hour which Cometh. A Volume of Sermons. Boston, 1864. Two editions.

Orthodoxy: its Truths and Errors. Boston, 1866.

Steps of Belief; or, Rational Christianity maintained against Atheism, Free Religion, and Romanism. Boston, 1870.

Ten Great Religions. An Essay in Comparative Theology. Boston, 1871.

Exotics: Attempts to domesticate them. A Collection of Translations in Verse. Boston, 1876.

Go up Higher; or, Religion in Common Life. A Volume of Sermons. Boston, 1877.

Essentials and Non-Essentials in Religion. Boston, 1878.

How to find the Stars. With an Account of the Astronomical Lantern. Boston, 1878.

Memorial and Biographical Sketches. Boston, 1878.

Common Sense in Religion. Boston, 1879.

Events and Epochs in Religious History. Boston, 1881.

The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic. Boston, 1881.

Self-Culture. Boston, 1882.

Ten Great Religions. Part II. A Comparison of all Religions. Boston, 1883.

The Ideas of the Apostle Paul, translated into their Modern Equivalents. Boston, 1884.

Anti-Slavery Days. New York, 1884. Two editions.

Manual of Unitarian Belief. Boston, 1884.

The Problem of the Fourth Gospel. Boston, 1886.

Every-Day Religion. Boston, 1886.

Vexed Questions in Theology. Boston, 1886.

Sermons on the Lord's Prayer. London, 1888.

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APRIL MEETING, 1889.

THE Annual Meeting was held on the 11th instant, the President, Dr. ELLIS, being in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, and was approved.

The list of donations to the Library for the past month was presented by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT said that since the last meeting this Society had lost two honored and useful Corresponding Members, — Prof. William Gammell, of Providence, the President of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and Mr. William C. Rives, of Richmond, an efficient member of the Virginia Historical Society.

Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. C. C. SMITH, in behalf of the committee of publication of Winthrop Papers, announced a new volume containing the correspondence of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, accompanied by a heliotype copy of an original portrait of him. The same committee was authorized to prepare another volume of Winthrop Papers.

A new serial, containing the proceedings from December, 1888, to March, 1889, was ready for members at this meeting.

Dr. DEANE, chairman of the committee appointed to consider the expediency of publishing any papers in the possession of the Society relevant to the organization of the National Government, reported that a large number of manuscripts had been examined, but he was satisfied that there was not material sufficient for a volume, and he asked to have the committee discharged.

Dr. GREEN made the following remarks: —

Through the courtesy of Mr. Henry F. Waters, a copy of Maverick's Account of New England was furnished to the Society, and printed in the Proceedings (page 236) for October, 1884. This interesting old manuscript is supposed to

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have been written about the year 1660, and describes nearly all the towns of that period lying east of the Hudson River. After speaking of Salem, Maverick refers to another well-known place in Massachusetts, as follows: —

Marblehead or Foy. — Two miles below this Towne on the Southside of the Harbo^{r} by the sea side lyeth Marblehead or ffoy the greatest Towne for ffishing in New England.

Mr. Roads, the historian of Marblehead, tells me that he has never heard of the second name or synonyme of that town, as used by Maverick, and that he has no idea of its origin. The word has been a riddle to the local antiquaries, and I venture to suggest a possible solution.

The General Court of Massachusetts Bay, at a session beginning May 22, 1639, made a large grant of land to Hugh Peters, for services rendered to the Colony; and this tract fell within the bounds of Salem and Marblehead. Peters was born at Fowey (pronounced Foy), Cornwall, England, which renders it highly probable that the name was derived from that town. It is said that the Trefry family, who were among the early settlers of Marblehead, came also from Fowey; and furthermore Hugh Peters's mother was Martha, daughter of John Treffry, Esq., of Place House, which is still the residence of the family. The mansion stands immediately above the town, and contains, besides other objects of interest, an original portrait of the old Puritan chaplain.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the customary reports were presented.

Report of the Council.

For more than eighty years the Government of the Society was composed of its officers and of a body (originally of three, afterwards of five members) who were designated as the "Standing Committee," and charged with important functions, among which was that of making an Annual Report. In December, 1873, this Standing Committee was abolished, and the Government of the Society was intrusted to thirteen members, namely, the eight officers of the Society *ex officio*, and five members at large, who, in conjunction with the said

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officers, constituted what was then styled the "Standing Committee or Council," — the said five members at large being assigned no separate authority or functions. In December, 1881, the By-Laws were again revised, when the words "Standing Committee" were stricken out altogether, the thirteen governing members being thenceforth simply styled the "Council." In all printed lists of the Society, however, since 1878 inclusive, these five members at large have been termed the "Executive Committee of the Council," — a designation which appears to be a misleading misnomer, since it is not warranted by any article in the By-Laws, nor authorized, so far as I can find out, by any vote of the Society, nor is there any record that such a Committee ever held a meeting. There exists, however, an impression that this so-called Executive Committee has something to do with the preparation of the Annual Report of the Council, and this has led seven of my eight immediate predecessors to affix the word "Chairman" to their signatures to successive Annual Reports, as was formerly the custom when such reports were presented by the now extinct Standing Committee. The By-Laws recognize but one person entitled to affix this word "Chairman" to his name in any similar communication, and this is the President of the Society, who is expressly declared to be *ex officio* Chairman of the Council. So far from the preparation of the Annual Report being intrusted to a Committee, such a contingency is distinctly guarded against. Nothing can be clearer than Article 9, of Chapter XII., which says: "They [the Council] shall make an annual report, to be drawn up by *that one* of the members at large who has had the longest term of service." It would seem as if the framers of this article must have had in view the possibility that a time might come when no two members of the Council would be able to agree on any subject, and they accordingly thought best to assign this duty to a single pen. On the other hand, it is obvious that a report ostensibly made on behalf of thirteen gentlemen must go through the form of being submitted to them before its presentation to the Society; but it has been ingeniously arranged that this formal submission shall take place at that meeting of the Council which is held less than an hour before the Annual Meeting of the Society, and when there is so much other business to be transacted that there is little time to debate a report, still less to

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remodel or amend it. The result is that what is nominally *the* Annual Report of the Council is practically *an* Annual Report by the senior member at large of that body, and for this reason I have been by no means careful to confine my remarks to the third person.

Our volumes of Proceedings enable us to consult these Reports, whether of the Council or of the Standing Committee, from the year 1855 until the present time. No one who will take the trouble to read them through consecutively, as I have done, can fail to notice a material change in their character of late years. The earlier Reports dwelt exclusively upon the actual condition of the Society, and what had taken place in it during its corporate year. Subsequently the custom arose — and a very appropriate one it was — of introducing some incidental and appreciative allusions to any important historical work accomplished by individual members during the same period. These incidental allusions gradually became more and more elaborate, until for the past three years they have culminated in the insertion of lists, prepared in the Librarian's office, minutely cataloguing everything known to have been printed by individual members during the corporate year, — an enumeration which has absorbed more than half of these Reports and constituted their most prominent feature. I cannot, I confess, regard this as an altogether satisfactory state of things. The literary labors of our associates are always interesting to themselves, and often valuable to others; but they do not immediately concern this Society in its corporate capacity. The following passage from the Report, in 1884, of one of the most accomplished of my predecessors (Professor Haynes), might with advantage be conspicuously inscribed upon these walls: "While gratefully acknowledging the merit of the literary work that has been accomplished during the past year by our different members, we cannot help regretting that a larger proportion of this skill and labor has not been bestowed upon our own publications." I therefore prefer to display the exotics in the background, and have furnished one of the lists in question only in the form of an appendix.

Since the last Annual Report the Society has had the misfortune to lose no less than four Resident Members. The first who died, the Hon. Henry Morris, of Springfield, was known to us only as having been President of the Connecticut Valley

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Historical Society, and a Judge, the distance at which he lived from Boston rendering his participation in our work impracticable. If, however, we are to maintain our reputation as a State in distinction from a local organization, we must not forget from time to time to elect such men. The second was that famous preacher and accomplished scholar, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, whose benignant presence was familiar in this hall, where he was always listened to with interest and respect. The third, the venerable William Amory, was a fine example of a class of persons from whom it has been the invariable practice occasionally to recruit our numbers, and without whom the Society would lose one of its distinctive features; namely, gentlemen of agreeable companionship, cultivation, and public spirit, not necessarily students or writers of history, but disposed to appreciate and promote such pursuits. Mr. Amory was a regular attendant at our meetings so long as his health permitted; and he did not forget, as some of our rich members have done, to leave behind him here a most agreeable reminder, in the shape of a legacy of three thousand dollars to our permanent funds. Our most recent bereavement has been the sudden death of Mr. Henry Austin Whitney, whose name has been on our roll for a much longer period than the three others I have mentioned, but who, unlike them, was still in the full enjoyment of physical and intellectual vigor. The absorbing cares of great railroad interests long ago cut short the services he had begun to render us; but he had recently encouraged us to hope that some portion of his recovered leisure would be devoted to our work.

We have had the additional misfortune to lose three Corresponding Members: Mr. Ephraim George Squier, author of works upon Central America and Peru; Prof. William Gammell, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and Mr. William Cabell Rives, formerly a much esteemed resident of Boston, and of late years one of the most active members of the Virginia Historical Society, of which his distinguished father, of the same name, was long President.

During the same period the Society has elected two Resident Members, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Cambridge, and Mr. Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, of Boston. No Honorary or Corresponding Member has been elected. The number of

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vacancies upon the Resident roll is three; the number of names entered in the book in which members record their preferences for nominations is about fifty. It would be an affectation not to allude to the wide differences of opinion as to candidacies existing both in the Council and in the Society. It has become very difficult to procure the requisite assent of seven members of the Council to any nomination; and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the well-known fact that nominations submitted by the Council sometimes fail of securing a sufficient number of grains of corn at a balloting. However undesirable, from some points of view, this state of things may be, it at least indicates a commendable degree of active interest in the subject. Perhaps the worst fate which can befall a small society is when its members grow indifferent to the manner in which vacancies are filled.

The satisfactory financial condition of the Society is described in detail in the printed Report this day laid upon the table; though there is one item which the Treasurer has not furnished, but which we ought none the less to recognize with gratitude, — the fact that our pecuniary independence is largely due to the pains and skill with which he has administered our property for twelve years past. There remains, however, what is practically a debt of about $26,000, that being the balance of our permanent funds still invested in this building; and no effort should be relaxed to clear off this encumbrance within a reasonable time.

During the past corporate year the Society has held nine monthly meetings; those for July, August, and September having been, as usual, omitted. No extra meetings have been called. The last special meeting, by invitation of a member, occurred three years ago; the last evening meeting, by similar invitation, thirteen years ago. The number of members present at the monthly meetings has fluctuated, as heretofore, between twenty and forty; the average attendance having been thirty-two, which is as large as can fairly be expected. Not quite so favorable a report can be made of the material for history contributed to these gatherings. Some interesting and valuable communications have been made; but on the whole, as compared with previous years, there has been a perceptible falling-off in the importance of the papers presented by the different sections. When so many gentlemen, most of them busy

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men, take the trouble to climb these stairs once a month, it is very desirable that they should not be disappointed in the entertainment provided, whether in the way of historical information or historical discussion. The fact that our revered President so rarely finds time to favor us with one of those introductory addresses which no one is more competent than he to prepare, and upon which in former years we somewhat relied, should be an additional incentive to individual members to endeavor now and then to write out some communication, no matter how short it may be. Such utterances serve a purpose beyond the immediate gratification of those who listen to them; they meet the eye of a wide circle of readers in our volumes, where they are preserved for permanent reference.

In this connection it is the duty of the Council to signalize to the Society the regrettable *lacunæ* that disfigure its series of biographies of deceased members. When one of these memoirs is assigned, it is with the understanding that the member who accepts this duty may, if he sees fit, allow several years to elapse before discharging it; but, on the other hand, it is far from being intended that so long an interval should occur that, as has sometimes happened, before a member has handed in a memoir assigned him he should become the subject of one himself. In the case of distinguished men, the particulars of whose career are to be found in other works of reference, such deficiencies, though objectionable, are not without a remedy; but in the case of some member little known to the public at large, who has been a conspicuous personality in this building and has rendered us important services, the omission is alike unjust, ungrateful, and inconvenient. The most lamentable instance of it is that of the Hon. Francis C. Gray, a man of exceptional cultivation and decided originality, — one of the most useful members we ever had, who died thirty-three years ago. His memoir is recorded to have been first assigned to his particular friend, the historian Ticknor, who followed him to the grave fourteen years later without being known to have written a line of it. After a certain interval it was reassigned to one of our associates, who wields a very attractive pen and who is understood to have remarked that the preparation of this biographical notice would be to him a labor of love; but this was evidently not an example of that true love which Seneca defines as spurning

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all delays, as year after year passes away leaving us apparently as far as ever from the promised tribute.

The publications of the Society during the past year have been ample and varied. They consist as follows: —

1. On the part of the Committee charged with editing the Proceedings (Messrs. E. J. Young, C. H. Hill, and A. McKenzie), three serial numbers, aggregating some 250 pages of what, when completed, will constitute Vol. IV. of our Second Series of Proceedings; the said three serials containing, with other matter, communications of value from Messrs. Winthrop, Paige, Deane, Green, Quincy, Smith, Chamberlain, Everett, Winsor, Haynes, Slafter, and Wolcott, together with some interesting memorials of deceased members by Dr. Holmes, Dr. Peabody, and others.

2. On the part of the Committee on the Trumbull Papers (Messrs. W. Warren, H. F. Jenks, and G. B. Chase), Part II. of the selections from those papers, together with a general index to the Fifth Series of Collections, — the whole forming a volume of some 550 pages, numbered X. of the Fifth Series.

3. On the part of the Committee on the Correspondence of Chief-Justice Sewall (Messrs. M. Chamberlain, C. H. Hill, A. B. Ellis, and J. M. Bugbee), Part II. of Sewall's Letter-Book, a volume of 380 pages, numbered II. of the Sixth Series of Collections.

4. On the part of the Committee on the Winthrop Papers (Messrs. C. C. Smith, R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and E. Channing), Part V. of the selections from those papers, consisting chiefly of matter associated either with Fitz-John Winthrop or with Joseph Dudley, — forming a volume of about 600 pages, numbered III. of the Sixth Series of Collections.

The aggregate number of volumes of the Society's Collections is now fifty-three; of Proceedings, twenty-three. This does not include the separate volume of Lectures by members of the Society upon the early history of Massachusetts, nor the volume wholly devoted to a general index to the First Series of Proceedings, nor the unfinished volume of Proceedings just alluded to. In some recent volumes of Collections the time-honored custom of furnishing a list of the Society's members, in their several classes, has been disregarded. These lists are often convenient for reference, and it may be well to mention that their omission is known to occasion regret.

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During the past year, also, the Society has partially revised its By-Laws, reviving some old rules governing elections, incorporating into the text certain formalities latterly in use in making nominations, limiting the number of Honorary and Corresponding Members, and establishing for the first time a Committee whose duty it is to examine annually into the condition of the Library and Cabinet. I am not certain whether this new Committee is to-day ready with a report, nor am I at all aware how far they may be disposed to criticise a state of things which has long been a source of embarrassment and perplexity. In any case, I hold it to be the urgent duty of a senior member at large of the Council to make some reference to a subject which is of the utmost importance to our well-being, and concerning the best manner of dealing with which there is room for wide differences of opinion. It is within the knowledge of some of us that the Society is in danger of losing, if indeed it has not already lost, important gifts of books and pictures, owing to a justifiable fear that the crowded state of our rooms will prevent such objects from being worthily bestowed and from receiving proper care. The portraits already accumulated, some of them not merely historic but unique, have, with a few exceptions, been gradually driven out upon the damp, insecure walls of a public stairway, or banished to the obscurity of a rarely visited upper story, where, in order to provide shelf-room for public documents of questionable value, some of them have to be piled upon the floor. Our Library, which for our own purposes is in many respects the best in New England, is so choked with heterogeneous accretions that much of it is difficult of access. We occupy three floors of a spacious building, but we enjoy no facilities for literary work. There is no place where any publishing committee of this Society can comfortably attend to its duties. The room in which we are assembled is appropriately used for the informal gathering and familiar conversation of such members as may look in from day to day. The outer room is necessarily an office. A member desirous of concentrating his attention upon historical research would naturally seek the spiral stairway which conducts to the floor above. But if in his innocence he does so, he emerges upon a disheartening scene of seemingly hopeless confusion and disorder which almost beggars description. I am careful to use this

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word "seemingly," because I have not the smallest doubt that the Librarian and his swift-footed assistants are familiar with the intricacies of this Gargantuan storeroom, and that for them little is here hid which cannot with some trouble be revealed. But it is no exaggeration to say that members who desire to find their own authorities and consult them on the spot are appalled by such surroundings. If they be persevering men who, indifferent to the soiling of their clothes, can thread their way through piles of books and mounds of dusty newspapers, they will eventually descry, in the inmost *penetralia* of these apartments, two small tables and two wooden chairs; but even this inadequate accommodation is half the time denied them, as the tables in question are frequently appropriated by the Society's copyists.

Now, who, it may be asked, is to blame for all this? The Librarian? Not he. The Cabinet-keeper? Still less. These functionaries would like nothing better than to make our rooms as convenient and attractive as they ought to be; but they are handicapped by usages of the Society, — usages which grew up long before they were in office, long before they were even members, when the Library and Cabinet were small and space was no object, and which appear to prescribe that we should receive nearly everything which any one chooses to send us, including books and pamphlets upon every conceivable subject, historical or otherwise, and wholly without regard to existing accommodations. Such a course is all very well for great National, Municipal, or University Libraries, or for those which are fortunate enough to enjoy exceptionally large endowments; but I contend it to be a profoundly mistaken one in the case of a small society, which is practically a sort of Literary Club, the object of which should be not so much to amass printed matter for posterity as to minister to the intellectual comfort of its living members and furnish them with agreeable facilities for historical research. We have numbered many associates who were noted for the rarity and excellence of their collections of books, though their tastes did not all lie in the same direction. To say nothing of the libraries of some of our present members, those of Mr. George Livermore, Mr. Edward Crowninshield, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Everett, Mr. Ticknor, and Mr. Charles Francis Adams will readily occur to us. These gentlemen had no ambition to erect to

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themselves a monument of a quarter of a million of pamphlets, nor did they allow themselves to be environed by heaps of unbound newspapers or piles of imperfect sets of contemporary magazines. They aimed first at a complete working library of reference, and then at the quality rather than the quantity of their accumulations,—endeavoring to obtain what was rare and valuable, discarding what they had no room for. Why might we not have done the same? We were asked to do it. So far back as June, 1855, the then Standing Committee made a memorable Report, which by some misunderstanding was not printed in the first edition of the Proceedings of that year, but which was subsequently inserted in a small second edition of that volume. They called attention to great quantities of pamphlets which, they said, required thorough examination before "it can be known what is of sufficient value to retain, or what should be otherwise disposed of." They invited the Society to "disburthen itself of much, at least, of this mass of cumbrous matter not immediately akin to our pursuits;" and they questioned "how far it is desirable to embrace within our field of labor any considerable number of miscellaneous periodicals, when we know that many other societies and institutions amongst us make those branches special subjects of attention." They evidently contemplated not merely a very thorough weeding of what we then owned, but a much more careful discrimination in the matter of future accessions; and if this sound advice of thirty-four years ago had been persistently followed, what a difference it might have made in the comfort, the usefulness, and the credit of our Library and Cabinet at the present day! I hear it sometimes asserted that we have "outgrown" our present quarters. To my mind, you might as well say that a man who has overeaten has outgrown his stomach. It is not the space, but the system, which is at fault. Even if we were rich enough to sacrifice the rent we get for the two lower stories of this building, and occupy the whole of it, we should obtain no permanent relief with the present methods of accumulation. Even if we were already in possession of the fund which, under the will of a deceased member, may come to us in the remote future,—if we already saw rising the walls of that new home which not six of us, probably not three of us, will live to enter,—we should still, under similar conditions, be event-

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ually confronted by a similar problem. It is one that might easily be solved now. If we had the courage to weed our Cabinet of spurious relics and trivial gifts; if we had the courage to weed our Library of at least thirty per cent of the least appropriate of our bound volumes, and of at least sixty per cent of the most worthless of our unbound pamphlets and periodicals; if we had the nerve to set our faces sternly against the hoarding of miscellaneous matter, to discontinue our cumbrous clearing-house for heterogeneous exchanges, and be hereafter as discriminating in what we receive inside this building as we try to be in our selection of members, maintaining only a comparatively select library of subjects akin to our pursuits; — if, I say, we had the resolution to do all this, we could at no great expense so remodel and rearrange these three floors as to make them for at least a generation to come one of the choicest and most convenient repositories of rare historical material and valuable historical portraits in the country. I am well aware how extremely improbable it is that you will consider favorably so radical a measure of reform; and while I do not relinquish hope that some scheme of partial amelioration may soon be devised and acted upon, yet it will not surprise me if you continue to shrug your shoulders and try to make the best of things a few years longer. Nor is it unlikely that some of you may console yourselves with the idea that the senior member at large of the Council, instead of congratulating you, as is customary, upon the general prosperity of the Society, has tried to signalize his retirement from office by inflicting upon you a sensational and pessimistic Report. All that I have done, however, has been to call your attention, in this formal manner, to complaints which have been whispered for years. It is but a few months ago that one of the most eminent of our number wrote me a very earnest letter on this subject. "The Society," he pathetically said, "is in the predicament of Sinbad the Sailor. An Old Man of the Sea has fastened himself upon its vitals, and is throttling it to death!" This picturesque metaphor was not, as might be supposed, intended to apply to our venerable President, — nor, as might alternatively be suggested, to our esteemed Librarian. My correspondent went on to explain that he meant by it "those bad habits and bad customs which have so long prevailed, and so got the upper hand, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate them."

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Some of you may be startled by the plainness of this criticism; others of you may, in part, deny its justice; but not one of you, who has the interest of the Society at heart, should fail to accord it some degree of careful and dispassionate consideration.

All of which is respectfully submitted by

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR.,
Senior member at large of the Council.

APRIL 11, 1889.

Separate publications of Resident Members during the corporate year, 1888–1889:—

The Inter-State Commerce Act: its Operations and its Results. Address at the dinner of the Commercial Club, Boston, Dec. 15, 1888. By Charles Francis Adams.

The Siege of Newport. A Poem. By Thomas C. Amory.

Charles River. A Poem. By Thomas C. Amory.

Miscellaneous Poems. By Thomas C. Amory.

The Working of the American Democracy. An Address delivered before Φ B K Fraternity of Harvard University, June 28, 1888. By Charles W. Eliot.

The Church and the Parish in Massachusetts. Address at the 250th Anniversary of the First Church in Dedham, Nov. 19, 1888. By George E. Ellis.

Essays, Religious, Social, Political. With a biographical sketch of their author (David Atwood Wasson) by Octavius B. Frothingham.

Groton Historical Series. Numbers 5 to 12, of Volume II. By Samuel Abbott Green.

Travellers and Outlaws: Episodes in American History. By Thomas W. Higginson.

Before the Curfew, and Other Poems. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The Federalist, reprinted from the original Text. Edited by Henry Cabot Lodge.

American Statesmen (Martin Van Buren). Edited by John T. Morse, Jr.

The Peckster Professorship: an Episode in the History of Psychical Research. By Josiah P. Quincy.

American Commonwealths (Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio). Edited by Horace E. Scudder.

The Diocese of Massachusetts: its Historical Acquisitions and Wants. By Edmund F. Slafter.

How a Protectionist became a Free-Trader. An address delivered before the Massachusetts Reform Club, Feb. 9, 1889. By Winslow Warren.

Volumes I. and VII. of that monumental work, the "Narrative and Critical History of America." Edited by Justin Winsor.

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On motion of Mr. C. C. SMITH this Report was referred for action to the next Council.

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library: —

Books	571
Pamphlets	3,658
Volumes of newspapers	17
Unbound volumes of newspapers	31
Broadsides	187
Maps	70
Volumes of manuscripts	4
Manuscripts	164
In all	4,702

Of the books added, 478 have been given, 89 bought, and 4 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 3,282 have been given, 91 bought, and 285 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 89 volumes and 91 pamphlets.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 27 volumes have been bound.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 27 have been given and 49 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 132 have been given and 46 bought. There are now in this collection 1,673 volumes, 4,258 pamphlets, 766 broadsides, and 88 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 725 volumes, 160 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 6,332 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 33,500 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 88,021; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,211.

During the year there have been taken out 48 books and 3 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

BOSTON, April 11, 1889.

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Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper begs leave to report that there have been presented to the Cabinet during the past year several articles of interest, including engravings, photographs, heliotypes, medals, and a few articles of a miscellaneous character, a list of which is appended.

An etching of Caleb Strong, by Albert Rosenthal, after a painting by Gilbert Stuart. Given by Mr. Rosenthal.

A photograph of a portrait in wax of Caleb Strong, made for Thomas Sumner of Brookline, and now in the Free Public Library of New Bedford. Given by Robert C. Ingraham.

An engraving of William Pynchon, by J. A. J. Wilcox. Given by Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon.

Three engravings of Daniel Webster, — one taken from the painting by J. Ames, one taken at the age of twenty-five, and the third from the monument in Central Park, New York. Given by J. A. J. Wilcox.

A continental bill of one sixth of a dollar, 1776; a Rhode Island bill of one thirty-sixth of a dollar, 1777; and three United States coins, half-cents of 1804, 1808, and 1809. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A volume containing thirteen portraits of American legislators, patriots, and soldiers, drawn from life, by Du Simitière. Given by Edward Bangs.

A heliotype of a pen-and-ink sketch of George Washington, made by J. Hiller, Jr., on the back of the King of Clubs in 1794. Given by Charles W. Darling.

A bronze medal of the Humane Society of Massachusetts. Given by the Humane Society.

A photograph, by J. A. J. Wilcox, of a miniature of Benjamin Franklin, by Joseph S. Duplessis, in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Gillespie, of Philadelphia. Given by Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver.

A Virginia bill of one sixth of a dollar, 1777, and a five dollar bill of the Confederate States of America. Given by Charles C. Smith.

A large framed photograph of Amos A. Lawrence, taken from a crayon sketch. Given by Amory A. Lawrence.

A bird's-eye view of Coronado Beach and City of San Diego, California; also a view of the Hotel del Coronado. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A bronze medal of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, struck to commemorate its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, 1888. Given by the Company.

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A copper-plate engraving of Gen. James Wilkinson. Given by John Mason Brown.

A sheet of nine shinplasters (two of five cents, two of ten, two of twenty-five, and two of fifty), used at Young's Hotel, each having the engraving of Gov. Nathaniel P. Banks, signed by George Young, Boston, and bearing date Oct. 1, and Nov. 1, 1862. Given by Mr. Young.

A photograph of three clay pipes found in the wreck which was dug out of the sand at Nawset Beach in 1863. Given by Charles Deane.

An engraving of Sir Francis Bernard, by J. A. J. Wilcox, from a painting in the possession of the family, for the "Club of Odd Volumes." Given by William Clarence Burrage.

It may be added that the general condition of the Cabinet is, on the whole, satisfactory. Two portraits have been repaired, and a catalogue of the medals is in preparation. The want of room for the better arrangement of the Cabinet, as has been alluded to in previous Reports, is a subject that may possibly have come under the consideration of the Committee appointed at the last meeting on the Library and Cabinet.

All which is respectfully submitted,

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

BOSTON, April 11, 1889.

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 30, 1889.

The special funds held by him are eleven in number, and are as follows: —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for $12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at $10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late

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Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to $10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at $22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., payable in 1892, for $21,000, and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank amounting, with the last addition of interest, to $700.59. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of $6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at $1,593.18. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of $3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty

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shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of $100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic," in which it is still invested. The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at $3,000. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to $7,850. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society: —

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Five commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of $1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of $250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at $1,379.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of $3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

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The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for $100, the interest of which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, which was deposited with us in April, 1877.

Of these funds two — the Peabody Fund and the Richard Frothingham Fund — are invested separately, as has been stated above. The other funds, which stand on the Treasurer's books at $55,025.18, are represented in part by the following securities: $10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1921; $5,000 in the five per cent first mortgage bonds of the Chicago, Kansas, and Western Railroad Co., registered in the name of the Society, and payable in 1926; $1,000 in an eight per cent mortgage bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., not registered, and payable in 1892; forty shares in the State National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; twenty-five shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; twenty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston, of the par value of $100 each; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co., of the par value of $100 each; and a receipt for a certificate of one share in the Boston Gas-Light Co., of the par value of $500, for which $1,200 is to be paid in cash April 5. The aggregate amount at which these securities stand on the books is $28,888.50. The balance ($26,136.68) is an incumbrance on the real estate, and shows a reduction of $6,601.27 during the year in the amount of our funds which have been temporarily invested in the building.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887; and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

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The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts: —

CASH ACCOUNT.

1888.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand	$298.45
1889.		
March 30.	To receipts as follows: —	
	General Account	10,744.03
	William Amory Fund	3,000.00
	Anonymous Fund	250.00
	Consolidated Income	1,214.47
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	207.60
		$17,184.55
March 30.	To balance brought down	$379.56

1889.	CREDITS.	
March 30.	By payments as follows: —	
	Investments	$10,020.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	326.53
	Income of Savage Fund	251.55
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	46.35
	Income of Appleton Fund	647.87
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,182.86
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	55.00
	Consolidated Income	21.38
	General Account	4,253.45
	By balance on hand	379.56
		$17,184.55

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1888.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	$3,195.77
1889.		
March 30.	To sundry payments: —	
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,300.00
	Insurance	333.00
	Printing Sewall's Letter Book	708.49
	Printing, stationery, and postage	145.21
	Cataloguing manuscripts	127.00
	Fuel and light	158.50
	Care of fire, etc.	304.31
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	176.94
	Consolidated Income	1,850.61
	Building Account	6,601.27
		$15,901.10
March 30.	To balance brought down	$4,555.09

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CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By amount brought forward	$1,510.84
1889.		
March 30.	„ proportion of consolidated income	601.98
		$2,112.82
March 31.	By balance brought down	$929.96

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

DEBITS.

1889.		
March 30.	To amount paid for printing	$55.00
	" balance carried forward	767.90
		$822.90

CREDITS.

1888.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	$615.30
1889.		
March 30.	„ dividends received	160.00
	„ copyright received	47.60
		$822.90
March 30.	By amount brought down	$767.90

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1889.		
March 30.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	$601.98

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By proportion of consolidated income	$601.98

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1888.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	$2,749.74
1889.		
March 30.	„ amount paid for printing, etc.	326.53
		$3,076.27
March 30.	To balance brought down	$1,606.27

CREDITS.

1889.		
March 30.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	$1,470.00
	„ balance carried forward	1,606.27
		$3,076.27

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Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1889. March 30.	To amount paid for books	$251.55
	„ balance carried forward	222.63
		$474.18

CREDITS.

1888. March 31.	By balance brought forward	$113.00
1889. March 30.	„ proportion of consolidated income	361.18
		$474.18
March 30.	By balance brought down	$222.63

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	$379.56
Real Estate	103,280.19
Investments	54,011.50
Income of Peabody Fund	1,606.27
General Account	4,555.09
	$163,832.61

CREDITS.

Building Account	$77,143.51
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,593.18
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	7,850.00
Anonymous Fund	1,379.00
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	929.96
Income of Appleton Fund	3,644.40
Income of Savage Fund	222.63
Income of William Winthrop Fund	144.38
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	767.90
Income of General Fund	789.15
Income of W. Amory Fund	42.50
	$163,832.61

From the gift, acknowledged in the Treasurer's Annual Report for 1887, for cataloguing the manuscripts, the sum of $693 has been expended in cataloguing the Trumbull Papers; and the sum of $307 remains at the disposal of the Committee

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having the matter in charge. The sum of $570 has been paid from the income of the Appleton Fund, under the direction of the Committee to procure a Calendar of the Pickering Manuscripts. In consequence of the great cost of publishing the Early Proceedings, and the Consolidated Index to the Proceedings, the income of the Peabody Fund was charged with a heavy debt. This debt was reduced $1,143.47 during the year, and will be wholly extinguished within a reasonable length of time, as the income is much more than sufficient for the publication of a volume as often as one can be prepared. After paying for the volume of Winthrop Papers, which will be ready at the Annual Meeting, a sufficient sum will remain to the credit of the income of the Appleton Fund to defray the cost of two more volumes of Collections; and there is nearly enough to the credit of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund for the publication of another volume.

CHARLES C. SMITH,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, March 30, 1889.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, one of a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 30, 1889, has attended to his duty, and reports that he finds them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

GEORGE B. CHASE, *Committee.*[1]

BOSTON, April 10, 1889.

The special Committee on the Library and Cabinet then made the following Report: —

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet of the Society has attended to that duty, and begs leave

[1] Mr. Perkins, the other member of the Auditing Committee, was absent from the city for several days after the Treasurer's accounts were made up, and was therefore unable to serve.

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to report that the time at its disposal has been too limited to admit of an exhaustive examination of the contents of the Library with a view to making recommendations in reference to its several departments. Moreover, as it is but reasonable to assume that the general contents and value of our collections are well known by the Society, the Committee does not feel that it is necessary in this Report to enlarge upon them.

The Committee finds the rooms occupied by the Library very much crowded, the shelves filled to overflowing, the natural accession of books far beyond its capacity to dispose of so that they can readily be made use of, and even the floor space so occupied that little or no working room is left.

Meanwhile the Cabinet is most inadequately provided for, and many of its interesting and valuable articles can neither be cared for nor properly exhibited for lack of room. This is most discouraging, for the articles in the Cabinet would be most likely to interest the occasional visitor to our rooms; and if they could be displayed, many strangers would be glad to come to see them. Further, they would in time probably be largely increased by gifts on the part of those who would secure permanent preservation for their treasured heirlooms of historical value and significance by depositing them with an institution where they would be preserved and could be seen. We are in no condition now to invite gifts of this nature, because we have so little room in which to put them; and possible donors, seeing our cramped and unsatisfactory quarters, are likely to seek other resting-places for their valuables, and overlook us in their distribution.

It is frequently the case that persons come long distances to consult works on our shelves that are not easily found elsewhere. Now we have no fit place to offer such persons to work in, nor have we really room for our own members to study and consult the books in the Library at their leisure and convenience. It is true there is this room, and this table, where members can work; and the Librarian and his assistants are most accommodating, and always ready to help them in their studies by bringing them such books as they desire to consult. But every one who has had occasion to use books in research knows how much more satisfactory it is to go to the shelves

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to examine and consult them, to take down one and another as he wants to use them; and how he thus frequently finds facts of which he previously knew nothing, and becomes more familiar with his subject than in any other way.

While it might not be practicable to allow general students free and unlimited access to our shelves, it would seem desirable for our members to avail themselves of the privilege; and it would be for the advantage of the Society to encourage them to make use of the Library in the freest manner and to the fullest extent, by providing every facility for them to work in it as easily as in their own.

If the Society could afford to use for its own purposes the whole of this building, when it comes into its possession on the expiration of the lease to the County of Suffolk, the two additional floors would afford valuable working rooms, and accommodate all accessions likely to be made to the Library or Cabinet for several years; but it is generally understood that those stories must continue to be used as a source of income, and it is therefore useless to speculate on what might be done if circumstances were different. For many years to come we must continue confined to our present accommodations, and the Committee thinks that the great and pressing question before the Society is how they can be used to the best advantage.

Increased room might, perhaps, be secured for new books and for working purposes by weeding out some of the books now on the shelves, and by restricting future acquisitions to a definite and restricted field, and refusing to occupy any other. To a certain extent this latter course is inevitable. When our Society was organized its object was declared to be, "to collect, preserve, and communicate materials for a complete history of the country." No limitation of aims was made in behalf of the State or of New England. Societies formed later, in defining their object, either give the State precedence of the United States, or omit the United States entirely. The existence of so many other societies naturally tends to lead us to occupy a field more narrow than that contemplated by our founders.

If this weeding-out process were to be undertaken with the books we now have, it would be very hard to decide where it should begin or end. Unquestionably, our collection of mate-

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rials for the local history of the State could not be touched, for that ought always to be kept as full as possible, and much that relates to it, though seemingly ephemeral or valueless, must be preserved for a possible use. A beginning certainly cannot be made there.

While the Committee might offer some suggestions in this direction, it has not thought it expedient to do so, because it believes that, by a more economical use of our present accommodations, much more room than now could be gained, and the result desired reached.

Besides the rooms on this story, the Society has on the story above a large room, as large as the front room and the Dowse Library together; a room at the rear, the size of the room containing the bound newspapers, in which is our very full and valuable collection of matter relating to the Rebellion; and a large room on the front of the building, about 14 × 16 feet, filled with pamphlets. The story above that contains as much space, with the exception of the little room at the rear, but is much higher studded.

In the opinion of the Committee, it is desirable that a book-stack should be put in the centre of the room in the upper story, and the cases now at the sides carried up to the ceiling.

The Committee made an examination of the new stacks at the Boston Athenæum, which seem to have been admirably contrived. Taking the measurements of these and of the aisles between, they find that ten stacks can be ranged across the room with ample aisles between each, — an aisle two feet four inches wide at the side nearest the wall, and an aisle four feet wide by the windows. This latter width will make it possible to put a small table at each window for the use of copyists, or cataloguers of the Society, or of members who wish to take books from the stack and make notes from them without the trouble of taking them downstairs, and at the same time allow room for any one to pass comfortably through the aisle from stack to stack, even when workers are at the tables.

The number of windows in this room, and the large open space, never likely to be built upon, at the side of the building, render it probable that, even with the stack, the room will always have sufficient light, and that there will be little

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difficulty in finding books in any part of it at any season of the year, during the hours that the Library is open, especially if any part of the walls not covered by books should be painted of a light color. If, however, it should prove that greater light was needed, it could easily be gained by putting skylights in the roof, or by using, as at the Athenæum, incandescent electric hand-lights. The books, too, could be so arranged that those least likely to be called for could be placed on the wall, or at the ends of the stacks farthest from the windows. In a library like ours this would not involve much difficulty, as there are many volumes of State and National documents which are hardly called for once or twice in a decade, but could be easily got when wanted.

The Committee would recommend that the capacity of the little room at the front of the building, now used to store the Society's publications kept for sale, be enlarged by placing one or two stacks, or a row of bins, in the centre. This would give room for a large quantity of volumes, which must always be kept on hand to meet possible demands, and which now, in consequence of our inadequate accommodations, cumber the floor.

The stack in the larger room, proposed by the Committee, could be arranged in two stories, with a gallery about six or six and a half feet from the ground, extending around the room, and would hold, by the usual estimates of librarians, about forty thousand volumes, while the cases on the walls would hold about ten thousand more; so that by this arrangement fully fifty thousand volumes could be stacked on the upper floor.

Descending to the next story, the Committee would recommend the utilization of the large room as a working room. The removal of the books from the centre of the room, which would be possible at once after the stack was provided upstairs, would give a clear space in which chairs and tables which could easily be moved from place to place might be put. The books here most likely to be called for could be made accessible in the cases alongside the walls, while a portion of the front of the room could advantageously be used for the arrangement and display of the Cabinet, though for that the Committee would prefer another arrangement to be mentioned later. At any rate, by lowering the cases against the walls,

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room could be gained for hanging many of the valuable pictures in our possession above them.

The front room, now used as a pamphlet room, being treated in the same way as the room above it, and having two or more stacks erected in it, could be made to hold many more pamphlets than now, until they were ready to be bound and placed on the shelves.

The Committee would recommend that the Society's newspapers be bound as soon, and to as large an extent, as possible. They can then be shelved and used, instead of, as now, filling the floor space. If the funds of the Society will permit, many volumes of pamphlets might also be bound, thus giving increased room.

A large change in the outer or reception room of the floor on which we now are, seems very desirable. Retaining the Librarian's desk, and the bookcases immediately surrounding it, the Committee would advise removing the rest of the books to the next, or the upper, story, and using the wall space thus gained for hanging the more valuable and interesting pictures of the Cabinet, utilizing the remainder of the floor space to display the articles of the Cabinet especially interesting to visitors. Practical objections to this plan may be made, in consequence of which it may be better to accommodate the Cabinet on the floor above this, as previously suggested in speaking of that floor; but, in the opinion of the Committee, it would be of greater advantage to the Society to re-arrange this floor, and leave that above it, as far as possible, unobstructed for a working room.

The Committee prefers the upper story for a stack room, in spite of its greater distance from the Librarian and the room ordinarily frequented by visitors, because its greater height would better enable the proposed stack to be made in two stories, thus permitting a much more economical use of the space at our disposal, and furnishing accommodations for a much larger number of books; it also affords better and cheaper means for securing increased light, if it proves to be needed, by the use of skylights. The practical objections to the plan which have presented themselves appear to be of slight importance and easily done away with. The cases which would be left on the second story, even though lowered in height, would hold the largest part of the books most fre-

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quently used. Those carried above would be so little called for that the time and strength required to go to them, when they were needed, would not be excessive, and, as the Library is used rather for consultation and study than for circulation, need hardly be seriously considered. Further, an elevator might easily be put into the building, in the well of the stairway, which would be a very desirable improvement if the rearrangement of the Library now proposed should lead to its more general use by members or visitors.

Other things have occurred to the Committee as desirable to call attention to, but of these it will not now speak. The time between its appointment and this meeting has been too brief for them to be fully considered, and it has accordingly thought it better to confine itself in this Report to the one practical suggestion that seems most important for securing proper preservation of the valuable works in the Library, an intelligent and practical use of it by the members of the Society especially, and others, for the purposes for which it has been collected, and an opportunity for exhibiting the Cabinet. It does not appear to the Committee that the time has yet come to enter upon the process of weeding out the contents of the Library, of which it has spoken; but in the constantly increasing pressure upon the Library to find places for new accessions, provision must soon be made for accommodating a much larger number of books than now, or that process resorted to. If in the future care is taken, in adding new volumes, to keep in the somewhat restricted fields, which the multiplication of new societies of kindred nature with our own renders possible, the plan recommended in this Report would provide not only for all our present books and pamphlets, but for all the probable accessions of the next ten or twenty years, beside furnishing adequate working room for students, whether members or not, and accessible quarters for the Cabinet.

Unless something of this kind is soon done, there will be no recourse but the weeding-out process at no very distant date. Even if the Society should prefer trying that to adopting and carrying out, wholly or partially, the recommendations of this Committee, and undertake something in that direction at once, it would, with our present shelf room, furnish only partial and temporary relief, and before a great while something of the

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kind recommended by the Committee would have to be tried, as our shelf room, entirely inadequate to our present needs, would in a very short time be again in as crowded a state as at present.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY F. JENKS,
EDWARD J. LOWELL,
O. B. FROTHINGHAM,
} *Committee.*

It was voted that this Report be accepted as a partial report, and be referred to the Council, and that the Treasurer and Librarian be added to the Committee.

The PRESIDENT then invited the members of the Society to meet at his house in the afternoon, where a social hour was enjoyed and a collation was served.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., from the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list, which, by ballot, was unanimously elected: —

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, D.D., LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG, D.D. . . . . WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

Members at Large of the Council.

JOHN LOWELL, LL.D. . . . . NEWTON.
GEORGE SILSBEE HALE, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.
WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.
JOSIAH PHILLIPS QUINCY, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.
ROGER WOLCOTT, LL.B. . . . . BOSTON.

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MAY MEETING, 1889.

THE regular meeting occurred on the 9th inst., and the chair was filled by Dr. ELLIS.

The Recording Secretary read his report of the last meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of gifts to the Library.

The following committees were appointed: — On publishing the Proceedings, the Recording Secretary, Messrs. Hill and McKenzie; on the Library, the Librarian, Messrs. Winsor and Quincy; on the Cabinet, the Cabinet-Keeper, Messrs. Young and Hale; on Finance, Messrs. Deane, Lowell, and Wolcott; to approve Bills, Dr. Deane.

The PRESIDENT then made the following address: —

I was indebted to my official place in this Society for an invitation as a guest to all the privileges and pleasures of the great National Centennial Celebration in New York. They were generously and courteously bestowed in large variety. A grateful recognition is due from all who were simply guests of the toil and ingenuity, the patience, kindness, and patriotic zeal of those who in their many committees designed and conducted all the plan and details of the occasion. I enjoyed the kindly hospitalities of our honored Corresponding Member, General Cullum, retired on his laurels from his various professional services as Chief Engineer of the Army of the United States.

The auspicious aspects of earth, air, and sky were all in harmony with the occasion. The gayly decorated highways and edifices were thronged with the citizens of a nation unique among all that exist or have existed on the earth, — a unit composed of many parts. As such, it was represented by its Federal Chief Magistrate, and by the Governors of its separate States, each with the rank and file of its citizen soldiery. Two orderly processions on successive days required respectively five hours for a rapid passage: the one presenting the materials in men and muniments for a national army; the

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other civic and industrial, beginning with school and college boys, and drawing in long and picturesque array the peaceful and thrifty ingenuities of a marvellously enriched and prosperous country. A naval display in the harbor; literary and oratorical exercises on the spot where Washington was inaugurated, and where his noble statue gave him almost a personal presence; various social receptions; an exhibit of choice artistic and historic relics, — the precious portrait canvases of our honored statesmen and patriots, their autographic papers, their old family plate, trinkets, and apparel, with John Jay's pistols, many once-crimsoned swords, and Gouverneur Morris's wooden leg; religious services in the church where Washington knelt; with ball and banquet included in the serious and the festive programme; — these were the objects for eye and ear and sense. What else there was beside these scenes and things was left to the reflections, the superficial or deeper thinkings, of each observer. A completed century of a vigorous nation's life was to be reviewed by the mind, and the auspices were to be cast of its future horoscope.

The signal glory of the occasion — its inspiration, warrant, and consecration — was the memory, the service, the career, the character of him who, as soldier, patriot, statesman, and magistrate, has no compeer in the whole world's history for all time. But what of the nation whose Centennial it was? This nation also stands alone in the whole world's history in its principles, elements, and constituency. Its citizenship is now some sixty millions more than its four millions when Washington was inaugurated its first President.

It is natural for those who seize upon a general view without regard to needful qualifications, to assume that on the establishment of our constitutional government the common struggles and discipline of a long defensive war, and the conventions, debates, and compromises resulting in the adoption of that government, found a people of a homogeneous character, well assimilated, and in substantial accord in opinions, principles, and aims. Those who are well versed in our history are aware with what qualifications that assumption is to be accepted. But suppose it were to be in substance admitted as true of us a century ago, and that we had started as a nation for experiment and development with that common mind and aim. All our added millions are not the fruitage of our origi-

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nal stock. It would be idle to speculate what this nation would be now, if it had been left as a whole, as some of its secluded communities have been, to growth and expansion from that original stock. But as if it had been an immense and empty basin of the earth's land surface, the floods of many oceans have poured into it. With the exception of the abortive Alien and Sedition Law of our early era, and the Chinese Exclusion Bill of recent years, the expanding territory of the nation has been left free as the air and sea to all of every race and land to come and enter upon the original heritage of the old stock; the pledge and covenant of honor being true loyalty to the established principles and institutions whose privileges they have sought to enjoy. So our adopted citizens with their descendants outnumber the native family. A figure of speech often used in this connection is not applicable, nor, if a fitting one, would it be reassuring. These immigrant masses of all other nationalities, races, and antecedent characteristics, are spoken of as *grafts* upon our original stock. But it is of the nature of a graft to appropriate the vitality and vigor of the parent sap to perpetuate the qualities of its own germ. A comparison between some of the prominent issues and relations of our national life of the first half and the latter half of our completed century — if any one should care to follow it out — would show the results of this kind of grafting upon the unity and assimilation of the elements of our population. The rapid and amazing changes in the expansion, the peopling, the development, and the enormous enrichment of our country during the last half-century present so many novel features that our original family and genealogical history has passed into a cosmopolitan record. The humor that a certain select "four hundred" might at the Centennial represent the nation in anything, even in a civic or social observance, is not likely to be forgotten for a century hence.

These suggestions intimate how little weight or worth is due to the reflections and judgments so freely uttered on the review of our first century, for comparison with the present, as to whether there has been a decay of public virtue, a lowering of the standard of patriotism and statesmanship, and an abuse of offices and trusts. It takes more than a century of time to change for good or ill the qualities of human nature in individuals, parties, or nations. We are left in all such issues

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either to the guidance of an opinion or to the cheer of a bright hope. The value of an opinion depends upon a tempered and instructed judgment, and upon vast and deep knowledge possessed only by very few of the wise and good. The ranges of hope for our country are free to all.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, being called upon, spoke as follows: —

I can add little, if anything, Mr. President, to your account of the late Centennial Celebration at New York, but I cannot decline your call for a few words in corroboration of what you have so well said. Beyond all question the 30th of April has been recognized and consecrated as the great anniversary of our national calendar, and most worthily has it been commemorated. To this Centennial, indeed, all other centennials of our Revolutionary history have been only preliminary and introductory. The Lexington, the Concord, the Bunker Hill, the Fourth of July, the Trenton, the Saratoga, the Yorktown, all alike and all together, found their culmination and consummation in the Centennial of Washington's Inauguration. No one, I think, can exaggerate the interest and importance of that event. Then, at last, the toils and struggles of a seven years' war, and all the perplexities and uncertainties of nearly seven years more of an ill-compacted and ineffective confederation, were crowned by the establishment and organization of a grand constitutional government. Then our Independence, instead of a Declaration, became a fact. Then our scattered Colonies became a Nation. Then our rope of sand, as it was well called, became an indissoluble and indestructible Union. And then the foremost man of our country, and of all countries, was solemnly inducted into our supreme chair of state. We can never be too grateful to God for having given us such a man to lead our armies, and to preside over our infant Republic, whose pure and matchless character was, and is, and will forever be, an example and a standard for ourselves and for all mankind.

Yes, take it for all in all, there is no day in our own history, or in any other secular history, so worthy of celebration as the 30th of April. It ought to be adopted as the day of inauguration for all future Presidents, and thus to become the great Olympic festival of our Union.

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It was most fortunate that the late celebration took place in New York, where the event occurred which rendered the day so memorable. It was most fortunate that the great commercial metropolis of our country, and of the whole continent and of our whole hemisphere, took the commemoration seasonably into her own hands, and carried it out so sumptuously and so splendidly, — adding fresh lustre to her own history. Nothing could have been more magnificent than the processions, military and civil; nothing more brilliant than the decorations, the ball, and the banquet. Nor could anything have been more impressive than those early services at St. Paul's, at which I had the good fortune to be present, — as, indeed, I was both at the banquet and ball.

The thanks of the whole country are due to New York for conducting this crowning national anniversary so sumptuously and so superbly; and I am glad of an opportunity of expressing my own gratitude to her committees, as one of the invited guests of the occasion. No other city in our Union could have done what New York did, to render the Inauguration of Washington forever memorable in our annals.

Let me not forget, however, how well Massachusetts was represented at every stage of the festival. The Cadets of Boston and Salem, the Fifth Regiment of Infantry, and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of 1638, preceded by the Governor of the State, formed a distinguished feature of the military procession; and their marching was only surpassed by that of the New York schoolboys the next day. Meantime, besides yourself, Mr. President, I observed at the banquet ex-Governor Boutwell, Professor Pickering, Mr. Cobb, Mr. Cabot Lodge, President Eliot, and Mr. Lowell; and the fine speeches of the last two gentlemen were worthy of their authors. But, above all, Massachusetts, in the person of her venerable Whittier, contributed the Commemorative Poem, of whose stanzas and single lines not a few will be embalmed for posterity. I am not sure, moreover, that we might not claim some share in the credit of the brave discourse at St. Paul's, if the good Bishop was born in Boston, while his excellent father was the rector of our own St. Paul's. A friend at my elbow, however, says that Schenectady was his birthplace.

But to the city of New York rightfully belongs the whole

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glory of the Celebration, and there I most gladly and gratefully leave it.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN, referring to an article written by Henry Tuckerman in 1857 for the "North American Review," in which he declared that in this country we have no day which is universally accepted as a national holiday, said that the remarks of Mr. Winthrop would have given great satisfaction to Mr. Tuckerman; and indeed, he thought that the 30th of April will take its place in the calendar of our country as marking one of the most interesting events in the history of the world.

Dr. EVERETT alluded to the fact that John Adams predicted that July 2 would be such a holiday; and he held that September 17 should also be added to our anniversaries, because it was the day on which the Constitution was signed, as well as that on which the city of Boston was founded.

Judge HOAR said that the Fourth of July is universally accepted by foreigners as well as our own citizens, and that American history is now taught to the children far better than when he was a boy.

It was voted that the Cabinet-Keeper be added to the Special Committee on the Library and Cabinet, his name having been inadvertently omitted.

On behalf of Dr. Winsor, who was unavoidably absent, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., moved —

That a Committee of five members of the Society be appointed to consider and report upon the advisability of adding a third article to Chapter XIII. of the By-Laws, thereby authorizing the Council to employ from time to time the services of some competent person to relieve the various Committees of Publication of some portion of their laborious duties; and that said committee consist of Dr. Winsor (chairman), Dr. Deane, Dr. Young, Judge Chamberlain, and Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr.

Mr. WINTHROP explained that this was a revival of a plan proposed by Dr. Winsor four years ago, and which was not taken into formal consideration at that time on account of lack of means to carry it out if adopted. The favorable showing of the Society's financial condition in the recent

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report of the Treasurer had resulted in its being again brought forward. The motion was adopted.

Professor GOODWIN spoke of an oak panel now preserved in Pilgrim Hall, in Plymouth, on which are painted the Royal Arms of Great Britain. This hung over the judges' bench in the Plymouth Court-house until the Revolution, when it was carried to Shelburne, N. S., by Gideon White, Jr., the refugee. It was returned by his brother, and has since been restored by the kindness of Mr. Stickney, of Baltimore, to whose munificence the town of Plymouth has been greatly indebted. In one corner of the panel appear the letters "G. B.," which are not easily explained. A hope was expressed by Professor Goodwin that the Rev. Mr. Slafter, whose valuable paper on similar Royal Arms still preserved in the United States has recently been printed by the Society, might give a full description of this interesting relic.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following paper on "Some Indian Names."

The Rev. John Wilson, first minister of Boston, owned two large tracts of land in what is now Merrimack, New Hampshire, but which then came within the limits of Massachusetts. They contained, both together, one thousand acres; and Mr. Wilson's title was confirmed by the General Court, at a session beginning on Oct. 16, 1660. A grant was made to him during the summer of 1639, more than twenty years previously; but, owing to "seuerall disappointments," the land had been neither surveyed nor selected.

In the Suffolk Registry of Deeds there is a record of the sale of this land, on Dec. 3, 1660, to Simon Lynde, a merchant of Boston; and as the description of the property mentions three Indian names, of which two are still in use, I make the following extract from the deed, in order to show their antiquity and to prolong their continued application: —

one thousand acres of land bee it more or lesse scittuated lying & being about tenn miles more or lesse from Groatten being laid out in two seuerall places (to witt) three hundred acres of meadow & vpland lying at or vpon pennechuck brooke neere South eggenocke Riuer bounded wth the wildernes & a pond lying towards the southwest Corner thereof and the bound tree marked wth the Letter L and seuen

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hundred acres of meadow & vpland and entervaile scittuat lying & being about one mile & halfe Distant from the aforementioned three hundred acres of land vpon Southheaganock Riuer aforesajd the Riuer Runing thr° the Same and the place Called by the Indians Quo-qunna-pussackessa nay-noy bounded vpon the westward w^th^ the land or farme of Cap^t^ w^m^ Dauis of Boston easterly:

(Suffolk Deeds, Liber III. page 449.)

Both Pennichuck Pond in Hollis, New Hampshire, and Pennichuck Brook, running from the pond into the Merrimack River and forming the boundary line between the city of Nashua and the town of Merrimack, keep one of these three names familiar to the present generation. "South eggenocke" and "Southheaganock" — different forms of the same word — represent another of these names, which is now known as "Souhegan" and applied to a well-known river in Hillsborough County, New Hampshire. The name "Quo-qunna-pussackessa nay-noy," as given in the deed, is written "quohquima-paskessa-nahnoy" in the General Court records; and these two forms of an Indian word are sufficiently similar to establish their identity. I am not aware that any trace of this name still survives in the geographical nomenclature of the neighborhood. The "pond lying towards the southwest Corner" of the first parcel of land mentioned in the deed, is Pennichuck Pond, and so called in the Colonial records.

Geographical names of Indian origin furnish now one of the few links in New England that connect modern times with the prehistoric period. In the absence of any correct standard either of pronunciation or spelling, which always characterizes an unwritten language, these words have been greatly distorted and changed, and thus have lost much of their original meaning, but their root generally remains. As the shards that lie scattered around the sites of old Indian dwellings are eagerly picked up by the archæologist for critical examination, so any fragmentary facts about the Indian names of places are worth saving by the antiquary and scholar for their historical and philological value.

Mr. GOODELL presented to the Library a recent report of the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, remarking that it was the first

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attempt of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to preserve records which it has been authorizing officers to prepare at an expense of half a million dollars annually.

Dr. McKENZIE said that in the new public library building in Cambridge there is to be an historical room, where everything relating to the history of Cambridge, such as relics, manuscripts, and memorials of the war, is to be preserved. He spoke also of the Shepard Historical Society, which had been organized in the First Church, and which possessed an autobiographical volume of Thomas Shepard, together with records going back to 1637, manuscripts of Dr. Abiel Holmes and others.

Professor HART gave an account of the recent opening of a grave in which it was hoped the body of Miles Standish might be found. In the possession of Miss Caroline Hall, of Duxbury, is a memorandum supposed to have been drawn up by her mother, in which is set forth the tradition that Miles Standish was buried between two pointed stones in the graveyard in South Duxbury, about half a mile from "Captain's Hill." By the permission of the Duxbury selectmen, Mr. F. B. Knapp, President of the Duxbury Rural Society, directed an excavation on this spot, at which Professor Hart was present. A skeleton was found in the spot indicated, but it was pronounced by Dr. Jones, of Kingston, to be that of a woman. A few feet to the north another and apparently an older interment was found, which was proved to be that of an old man; some bones were preserved, so that the length of the skeleton was ascertained to be five feet seven and a half inches. As Miles Standish was well known to be a small man, there seems no reason to suppose that this is his body. No other evidences were discovered. Both bodies had been buried in winding-sheets. There was no reason to suppose that Miles Standish's remains were found. There is even grave doubt whether any interments were made in the graveyard earlier than twenty years after Standish's death.

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JUNE MEETING, 1889.

THE last meeting of the Society for the season was held on the 13th instant, the President, Dr. ELLIS, being in the chair.

The Recording Secretary's report of the previous meeting was read, and the Librarian's statement of accessions to the Library was presented. Among the latter was mentioned an important collection of manuscripts given by Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham, of Charlestown, which were used by his father, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, author of the "Siege of Boston." Mr. Edward D. Harris, an Associate Member, had also given five elegantly bound volumes, of seven hundred pages each, fully indexed, and containing more than twenty thousand epitaphs in Saratoga County, New York, transcribed by him from the original stones. The subjoined letter accompanied the gift.

NEW YORK, May 28, 1889.

DEAR DR. GREEN, — During the discharge of my professional duties, for a period of four or five years I was stationed at Saratoga Springs, in this State. While there I became acquainted with the fact that no historical work of any importance, save that of General Stone, had been done for that county, although permanently settled to a considerable extent for more than one hundred years.

The paucity of county records for the first portion of that period, and the almost total absence of family entries in town and church records for the entire period, made the compilation of the material extremely difficult.

Almost in despair I turned to the burial-grounds, and commenced a collection and storage of the matter found there, with the intention of eventually putting it to use.

My removal to another part of the State necessarily put a stop to the work, and rendered its consummation impossible.

That my manuscripts may be safe for the use of future investigators in the same field, I now beg leave to present them to the Society in the shape of five bound volumes, fully indexed, and containing abstracts of upwards of twenty thousand epitaphs. Every public burial-ground

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of the entire county was visited, as well as all of the private or family grounds to which access could be obtained.

I remain, very truly yours,

EDW. D. HARRIS.

I have this day sent the volumes by express to the address of the Society.

MAY 29, 1889.

The PRESIDENT addressed the Society as follows: —

Some of the members of this Society have already, in their professional or social relations, rendered their tributes of respect and personal affection to two of our associates recently removed from us by death. The Hon. Peleg W. Chandler and the Rev. Henry W. Foote, in their respective professions doing valued and highly appreciated services in this community, have left their names and records for honored and grateful remembrance. It is for us to recognize them for what they were and for what they did in connection with this Society. They prized their membership of it, and did it faithful service. By laborious works of historical research, now filling volumes for permanent authority and interest, while they pass from living presence they will have a perennial and fragrant memorial here. As we review the list of honored and serviceable men on our roll for nearly a century, — so many of them eminent in the highest ranges of life, — we recognize in these two so recently passed away our ideal of the desirable qualities in members of this Society.

Mr. Chandler died at his home in this city May 28, having passed his seventy-third year. A native of Maine, while it was a part of Massachusetts, and a graduate of Bowdoin College, he pursued his reading for his chosen profession of the law here and in Cambridge. After a very responsible editorial position on the "Daily Advertiser," he originated what was then a novel enterprise in the publication of the "Monthly Law Reporter," which achieved marked success. For seven years he was the City Solicitor, on resigning which office he continued to serve as special counsel on some important long-litigated cases. He aided in the revision of the City Charter, was a member of the Common Council, of the Legislature, and

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of the Executive Council of the State. His services were of great moment in the legislation for improving the Back Bay, for introducing pure water, in advancing the Public Garden, and in much important railroad legislation. His name is on the list of the "One Hundred Boston Orators." He was a trusted friend and strong supporter of Governor Andrew, of whom he contributed an admirable Memoir to our Proceedings. He filled a very high place in his profession, winning the esteem and the applause of his associates. His chief historical work is the two volumes of "American Criminal Trials," published in 1841–1844. It is to be regretted that his business occupations prevented his continuing the series as he had intended. He was a member of this Society for more than forty years, was for a time its Treasurer and on many of its Committees. He was constant in his attendance here till increasing deafness disabled him, and then he sent communications.

Mr. Foote had been a member of this Society nearly fifteen years at his death, May 29. Before his election he had shown his ardent interest in its objects by frequent visits to its shelves and cabinets for researches in his favorite studies. These were chiefly concerned with his purpose to write the historical work which will ever be a memorial of the fidelity, the catholicity of spirit, the sound discretion, and the other admirable and attractive qualities of the man. This is his "Annals of King's Chapel," its edifices, ministers, and congregations. He was the fourth — or, including in the early part of the century the brief term of service of an associate minister, the fifth — of those who for more than a hundred years have officiated in that historic edifice, since the changes, following the War of the Revolution, made in its service-book and Ritual as of the Church of England. By a striking felicity in the character of those ministers and their ministrations, the Society found in Mr. Foote the most fitting successor of Freeman, Greenwood, and Peabody, each and all so fondly and reverently embalmed in living memories in this community. None of us who sit here need delineation or encomium of that cherished friend, of such winning graces in his pure and attractive character. He seemed to have been born gifted and endowed for the sacred office of his life which he so wholly loved and so devoutly served. Gentle in his mien, speech, and manners, he was as strong in the fibres of his convictions and

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purposes. I had the privilege of receiving from his hands the sheets of his historical work while it was in progress for the press. Page by page I noted the zeal and toil, the care and the conscience, given to the quest for and the use of all the recondite materials which help to the narration and illustration of one of the most interesting episodes in our local history.

The Council ask to enter upon our records the expression of our regret in the loss of two such valued associates, and our grateful appreciation of their characters and services to us and to the community.

Mr. WARREN then paid the following tribute: —

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, — I can hardly trust myself to express in fitting terms my sorrow at the loss of so pure and gentle a spirit as that of my classmate and almost lifelong friend, — Henry Wilder Foote. It is now over thirty years since I first met him in our college course at Cambridge, and recognized the same unselfish, patient, studious man whom in later days we have known so well upon a broader field.

These traits of character, which endeared him to his people and to all with whom he was brought in contact, were as marked in the student as in the mature man, — a genuine simplicity, combined with thorough intellectual training; a charity in judgment, but a clear perception of truth and steadfast adherence to what he deemed right; most tender sensibilities, but a keen sense of justice; an utter absence of dogmatism or ostentation of any kind; a scholarship so ripe, and a manner so attractive, as to gain him the love of friends and the appreciation of cultivated minds. Many of these traits came rightly to him from his parents, one of whom survives in an honored old age made beautiful by all the graces of a Christian life.

Very early after graduating at Harvard Mr. Foote assumed the charge of one of the oldest and strongest of the churches of his Unitarian faith, King's Chapel, in Boston, and was called upon to exert to the utmost his powers of mind and heart to make good to his parishioners the loss of those brilliant and beloved pastors, Greenwood and Peabody, whose memory was yet fragrant in the hearts of the older members of the parish. For so young a man the burden seemed a

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heavy one, and I know, from repeated conversations with Mr. Foote at that time, the deep sense of responsibility under which he labored, and the doubts and anxieties which continually oppressed his mind. With unflinching zeal and patient devotion he gave himself to the task, at times to the serious detriment of his health; the tenderness of his sympathies won over the hearts of many, while his intellectual force and perfect sincerity so established his hold upon his congregation that at the end of his long pastorate of twenty-eight years, as he calmly laid down the burden, and upon his bed of sickness and suffering awaited with beautiful resignation the inevitable summons, he could have been conscious, had his modest nature allowed, that *his* memory, too, would now be enshrined with that of the devoted pastors whom he so worthily followed.

Mr. Foote was naturally conservative; he had no fondness for controversial theology, and was no part of the Church militant; but his mind was cast upon a broad model, and though firm and decided in his beliefs he was ever ready to accept the conclusions of modern scholarship and scientific investigation, without fear that the essential foundations of his faith could be shaken by the light of truth. As with theology so with men, — all questions of character, of doctrine, or of principle, he approached in a broadly catholic spirit, and gave to all a thorough investigation and a candid judgment. As a preacher he shunned all sensationalism; he placed no reliance upon oratorical display, but sought to convince his hearers by directness of statement and simplicity of style, reinforced by the earnestness of his convictions. His calm enthusiasm, the pathos of his voice, the open sincerity of his nature, gave to his preaching an impressiveness and power often lacking to a more fervid oratory or more eloquent periods.

All his life Mr. Foote was a student of books; and while he derived from them his extensive knowledge and thorough training, he never lacked time nor effort for the practical advancement of numerous charitable projects, for most faithful attention to the spiritual and mental welfare of his people, and for an intelligent and active interest in the political and social questions of the day. His people were not included in the narrow bounds of his parish, but he was ever at the service of the unfortunate and the needy.

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The loss of friends carries with it a feeling which must differ with the differing characteristics and personality of the individuals; in his case it brings a deep sense of personal grief. But whether we mourn him as members of the congregation for which he so faithfully labored, as co-workers in the paths of historical investigation, or simply as friends, we know the worth of such a well-rounded character, and feel sure that the world was richer for the beauty of a life illustrated by an ever-ready sympathy for suffering humanity and the power of truly Christian endeavor.

Such a career recalls us from the stern realism of our surroundings to the contemplation of something finer and better, to the majesty and loveliness of earnest devotion to duty, to the recognition of a broad culture, to the inspiration in the example of a man who in all his ways humbly and confidingly sought to follow in the footsteps of the great Master whom he preached to all men.

A life has closed whose years seem, at first thought, all too few for the completion of its work. But with perfect truth we can say that Henry Foote's work was never incomplete; he had so lived that there was nothing for him to regret, and all the energies of his mind and soul had been given to the duty set before him. It is not for us to measure results; we believe that the influence of such a man dies not with him, and we know that he has left a memory which will be precious to his family and to his friends.

May we not apply to him the words of the Apostle, "In whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple of the Lord"?

Colonel LEE spoke of the difficulties which Mr. Foote met in coming as a young man from the Divinity School to be the successor of Greenwood and Ephraim Peabody. Yet he soon made his way, showing perfect independence and perfect charity, and winning respect by his character.

Dr. PEABODY added that he could not conceive of a purer soul, who manifested inflexible firmness of principle where others were concerned, but who was willing and easy to be moved when duty was not involved. He illustrated in his life the divine teachings and example of his Master.

Dr. MCKENZIE and Dr. EVERETT spoke of other personal

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traits and characteristic qualities, and the PRESIDENT announced that the Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG had been appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Foote.

Judge LOWELL spoke of Mr. P. W. Chandler, and emphasized his cheerful, genial temperament under the great disability with which he was afflicted. Aggressive by nature, he had a sturdiness of character, and he gained remarkable success in his profession.

Mr. GEORGE S. HALE referred to the distinguished lawyers whose offices were at No. 4 Court Street, and who were objects of admiration to the younger men.

Mr. BRADFORD testified to the social qualities of Mr. Chandler, which made him a most agreeable companion.

The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, the chairman, from the Committee on the Library and Cabinet, as enlarged at the Annual Meeting, presented a report stating that, after consultation with the architect of the building, many of the recommendations proposed in the first report had been found impracticable, because subjecting the floor timbers to a greater weight than they had been calculated to sustain. The Committee was therefore obliged to modify its plan, and had done so in the direction of the design entertained at the time the building was reconstructed, and would now propose that the upper floor, originally planned for a picture-gallery, should be used for the Cabinet, a large number of the books there being removed to give space on the walls for pictures, and the main body of the library located on the fourth floor. From two thousand to thirty-two hundred books could still be kept on the upper floor. They also propose a staircase from the fourth to the fifth floors, starting near the top of the present circular staircase from the third story. This might make it possible at some time to discontinue the present outside staircase, and thus an additional room could be gained through flooring over the opening.

The Committee presented a plan, prepared by Mr. Harris, the architect of the building, for the arrangement of the fourth floor for the Library, but stated that it had been received too recently to permit of consultation with Mr. Harris in regard to modifications which the Committee considered essential. These were stated in detail by way of explanation, the Committee feeling that as this was the last meeting before

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the summer vacation, it was necessary for the Society to have a full understanding of them, in order that if any work of alteration was to be done during the summer months it might be decided on intelligently, and then, with a knowledge of the Society's wishes, the details could be arranged later by the Committee, after further consultation with Mr. Harris, in which a plan for the cases to be built could also be agreed upon.

The Committee further emphasized the necessity of having the newspapers, now cumbering the floor, bound to as large an extent as possible, as a step towards securing more room, saying that, if worthy of preservation, these papers were worthy of binding, and that the Society owed it to itself to put them into a condition in which they could be used to advantage.

The Committee stated that it could not present an estimate of the probable cost of the alterations now proposed, but that if the Society thought it desirable to have work proceed at once, an estimate could soon be procured, and that the Committee might be authorized to carry out the plan proposed, if it could be done within such sum as the Society might think judicious and prudent to allow for the purpose.

The Committee added that it had found that it would not be necessary to provide for so large a probable increase of the Library as it had thought in its first report, and that the plan now proposed will probably meet all the needs for the next ten years.

The report was signed by the Chairman and the Cabinet-keeper; but it was stated that it was practically a unanimous report, the Committee having consulted together and agreed upon the suggestions to be embodied in it; but Mr. Smith had gone to Europe, and Mr. Lowell and Mr. Frothingham had been unavoidably called away from town before it was drawn up, and the Librarian had been prevented by another engagement from attendance at the meeting of the Committee when it was finally submitted, but had expressed himself as agreeing with the conclusions reached.

Dr. GREEN said that he might be considered as having signed the report.

It was voted that Mr. Edward D. Harris, the architect, be added to the committee, and that full power be given it to make the proposed changes during the summer recess at an expense not exceeding one thousand dollars.

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Dr. GREEN communicated a copy of the following journal of Sergeant Holden, of Groton, kept during the latter part of the French and Indian War, the original of which has now been presented to the Library, with some family letters, by Mr. Henry Sylvanus Bunton, Town Treasurer of Hyde Park, Massachusetts: —

Journal of Sergeant Holden.

David Holden, the writer, was the First Sergeant in Captain Leonard Whiting's company. He was a son of John and Sarah (Davis) Holden, and born at Groton, on Dec. 10, 1738. His family, in both its branches, had suffered much from Indian warfare. His grandfather, Stephen Holden, with his "two biggest sons," — one of them David's father, — was taken by the Indians during the summer of 1697, and held in captivity for nearly two years; and his maternal grandfather was John Davis, who was killed by the Indians, in his own door-yard, on Oct. 25, 1704.

On July 13, 1761, David was married to Sarah, daughter of the Reverend Phinehas and Sarah (Stevens) Hemenway, of Townsend, who was born on Oct. 25, 1739. There is a tradition in the family that the first time he ever saw his wife was while drilling a squad of men at Groton for the campaign of 1760. After his return from the army he lived during some years at Townsend, where most of his children were born. At the outbreak of the Revolution his sympathies were with the Crown; and so strong was the feeling in his neighborhood at that period against the tories, that he was obliged to leave his home, when he took up his abode in Hollis, New Hampshire. His military service had laid the foundation for a loyalty to the King, which did not swerve even at the cost of his personal popularity.

Captain Whiting, the commander of Sergeant Holden's company, was a native of Billerica, where he was born on March 27, 1734; but at the time of this campaign he was living at Westford. The company was recruited from Middlesex County, and the muster roll is still preserved among the Massachusetts Archives (XCVIII.) at the State House, in the volume marked "Muster Rolls, 1760–1761" (VIII. 313–315). During the Revolution Captain Whiting was a resident of Hollis, and he, too, was a tory. An account of his adventures with some patriotic women of the neighborhood is given in Caleb Butler's History of Groton (pages 336, 337).

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Mr. Holden died at Hollis, on August 8, 1803, aged 64 years, and his widow at the same place, on April 7, 1830, aged 90 years. He left a "Register" of his children, handsomely written by himself and framed, which is now in the possession of a grandson, William Bunton, of Boston. His children were as follows:—

David, born June 28, 1763, died July 12, 1763; Sarah, born December 17, 1764, married Lieutenant Benjamin Cummings, of Brookline, N. H., July 20, 1786, as his second wife, and died in the year 1835; Betsey, born September 18, 1766, married David Hale, June 3, 1787, and died November 18, 1842; David, born July 31, 1769, married Bridget Atwell, January 1, 1789, and died October 13, 1823; Phineas Hemenway, born May 8, 1772, married Betsey Jewett, January 31, 1799, and died January 29, 1856; Lavinia, born June 30, 1774, married Andrew Bunton, of Pembroke, N. H., March 13, 1800, and died November 17, 1836; Artemas, born September 13, 1776, lived in Lowell, and died August 8, 1863; Sylvanus, born April 3, 1779, and lost at sea, February 5, 1811; and Joshua, born April 3, 1781, lived in Boston, and died December 17, 1852.

After the death of Sergeant David Holden, the Journal passed into the hands of a son, Phineas Hemenway Holden, who left it to a daughter Mary, wife of Dexter Greenwood, of Hollis, by whom it was given, perhaps twenty-five years ago, to her cousin Dr. Sylvanus Bunton (son of Andrew and Lavinia); and after Dr. Bunton's death the book came into the possession of his son, Henry Sylvanus Bunton, who now has given it to this Society.

According to an advertisement in "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," July 3, 1760, forty-one companies had been mustered into the service of the Province, during the campaign of 1760, up to July 1, either at Worcester by Commissary Anthony Wheelock, or at Springfield by Ensign Campbell, and then marched westward from those towns.

The Journal consists of 64 pages of a small blank-book; and 104 remaining pages are filled with the ordinary memoranda, usually found in such a book, and extending through a period of twelve years. From these entries it appears that Sergeant Holden was a farmer and a cooper; and occasionally he let his horse or his cart and oxen to some of his neighbors to do work. In July, 1765, he has a charge of one pound

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for a "Pigg" against Archibald McIntosh, who ten years later was taken prisoner at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and who died in Boston jail. On Sept. 2, 1765, he carts a "Load of Cole from the Battrey to Tarbells mills," which were situated in Squannacook Village, now West Groton. In January, 1772, he opens an account with Henry Price, the first Provincial Grand Master of Masons in New England and North America, and he sells him some turnips and does some "hooping" for him. There is also given "A List of the Schoolars in y^e^ year 1772," at Townsend, which then had a population not far from 750 inhabitants. The list is as follows: —

Isaac Kidder		Jon^a^ Wallis	
Lucy Kidder		Suse Wallis	
John Kidder		Sybel Wallis	
Jon^a^ Patt		Isaac Wallis	30
James Patt		John Stevens	
Sybel Patt		Sam^ll^ Stevens	
David Patt		W^m^ Stevens	
Joshua Smith		Molly Stevens	
Benj^a^ Ball		Abel Gillson	
Rachel Ball	10	Daniel Gillson	
Rebeca Proctor		Henry Turner	
Rachel Proctor		Benj^a^ Abbot	
Nathan Conant		Polly Price	
Jeremiah Ball		Sam^ll^ Wyman	40
James Ball		Anna Wyman	
Molly Ball		Huldy Wyman	
Betty Ball		Uzziah Wyman	
Isaac Proctor		Polly Holdin	
Elisabeth Proctor		Sally Holdin	
Jacob Baldwin	20	Betey Holdin	
Rachel Read		Ruth Baldwin	
Patty Read		John Bauldwin	
Levi Read		Jonas Baldwin	
Howard Read		Joseph Willson	50
Joel Read		Jn^o^ Willson	
Benj^a^ Read		Sarah Willson	

In connection with this Journal, see one kept by Lemuel Wood during the same campaign, and published in the Essex Institute Historical Collections (Vols. XIX.–XXI.).

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DAVID HOLDIN,S
BOOK BOUGHT
AT BOSTON
APRIEL Y^E 1^ST 1760
PRICE 14/

David Holdin his Booke If I it Loose and you it find, Restore it me for it is mine 1760

A Jurnal

of What was Transacted In the Expedition For the Total Reduction of Canada In the Year. A: D. 1760

On Thursday Febuary y^e 20^th 1760 I David Holdin Inlisted with Cap^t Leonard Whiting In the Expedition for the Total Reduction of Canada

March y^e 10^th Past Muster Before Colonel John Bulkley[1] at Groton

A JURNAL of what was Transacted in the Expedition For the Total Reduction of Canada In the Year A: D: 1760

On Thursday Feb: 20^th 1760 I David Holdin Inlisted with Cap^t Leonard Whiting in the Expedition For the Total Reduction of Canada

March y^e 10^th Past muster Before Lieu^t Colo: John Bulkley @ Groton

Apriel y^e 16^th Orders Came from Capt. Whiting that I should warn all the men that I had Inlisted, and March them to Harvord the Next Thursday where I should Joyn his Company on their march to Worcester

On Thursday Apriel y^e 24 1760 I Sat out from Groton & marched With the men to Harvord To Capt Samuel Harskels where we met with Cap^t Whitings Company, Here we tarried all Night

25 We marched with 82 men to Cap^t Curtices in Worcester Where we Tarried all Night

26 We was all Billited out at Worcester tho at Sundry Places. I with my Party was Billeted at John Curtices about Two miles from the Town.

Sunday 27 & 28^th Companys Kept Coming in & Some Going out

[1] Colonel Bulkley was a prominent inhabitant of Groton, who died on Dec. 3, 1772, aged 69 years.

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29 Orders Came that Cap^{t} Whitings Company was to Muster Tomorrow morning at 8 o Clock

30 Cap^{t} Whiting Marched to Worcester Town with 85 men officers Included out of which 75 Past muster & Ten only was Rejected.

We Musterd Before Anthony Whelock a Regular officer

may y^{e} 1. & 2^{d} Companys Coming in & marching out Towards Albany

3 A Greate Commotion among the officers Some they Established Some they Ground & Sent Home Took their men and Put them under other officers Some they Sent Home Recruting till the 20 of may.

Orders Came that Cap^{t} Whitings Company Should Be in Rediness to march the Next morning accordingly the Cap^{t} payed of all his Company their Billiting & ordred them to Prepair for their march the Next morning

Sunday May y^{e} 4th Cap^{t} Whiting Sat out for Westford and Leiu^{t} [Nathaniel] Comings took the Command of the Company with Leiu^{t} [Joseph] Boynton. Took a Teem to Carry our Baggage & Provisions and Be Gan our march with 74 men officers Included & Come about five miles & half To Lanlord Serjeants in Lester where we went to Dinner & afterwards marched about Ten miles to Lanlord Woolcuts in Brookfield where we tarried all Night.

5 We marched about [12] miles to Lanlord Shaws in Palmore & tarried all Night. This Day Some of Cap^{t} Hutchins,s Company abused a woman & a young Child wounding both the woman & the Child.

6 We Marched about [9] miles To Landlord Persons on Springfield Plain where we tarried all Night & a woman belonging to Cap^{t} Hutchings,s Company was Brought a bed with a Statly Soldier for the king

7 We marched to Springfield by 8 o Clock in the morning which was about Six miles. Here we tarried all Day Cap^{t} Whiting Came up to us.

Four of Cap^{t} Hutchings,s men was put in prison for abuseing the people by the way

8 Past muster this morning before Leiu^{t} Campbell, Drew Seven Days Provision Took a Team to Carry our Baggage in and Marched about [10] miles to Lanlord Cap^{t} Claps in Westfield where we tarried all Night

Here we Left Jonas Butterfield [of Dunstable] Lame at the widdow Ingolsons under the Care of D^{r} Clapum

9 We Marched 4 miles & half to the foot of the mount of Glasgow [Blandford], where our Team left us & we was obliged to Carry our Packs on our Backs to Shuffield, So we marched Seven miles to Landlord Pees,s in Glasgow where we tarried all Night. here we Left Freeborn Raimond & Thomas Hildreth [both of Westford] Sick.

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10 Marched Through the Green-Woods to N° one [Tyringham] to M^r Jakson which was about 20 miles & tarried all Night.

11 Sunday We Sat out & Came 10 miles to Landlord Burgats in Shuffield & tarried this Night where Cap^t Hutchins,s Company Tarried

12 Was Detained till afternoon Before we Could Empress waggons to Carry our Baggage after which we Sat out with Cap^t [Thomas] Bemans Company and Came about Eleven miles to Landlord Lovejoys where we Tarried all Night.

13 We marched about [15] miles To Landlord Follicumburrers in Kinderhook where we Left Benj^a Pollard [of Westford,] Sick with the Chiken Pox & Abraham Taylor & Caleb Hustone [both of Westford] to take Care of him Cap^t Hammonts Company Came up & tarried with us.

14 It being a wet wet Day Did not march till 12 o'Clock Then Sat out & Came about 10 miles to the Half way House Where Capt Whitings & Cap^t Hamments Companys Tarried all Night. My self & Two others Sat out for Greenbush in order to Git Quarters for our Company & Came about Seven miles & tarried at a Dutch Tavorn.

15 We Came in to Greenbush & Provided a Place, & Barn for our Company about 3 miles Below the City of Albany about one o'Clock our Company Came in here we tarried all Night

16 Orders Came that we should March up the River to Colo: Ransleys accordingly we Did & there was about 600 men all assembled of the Massachusetts Troops whereupon a Detachment was sent to Half moon Consisting of one Leiu^t Two Serjeants 30 men of which 5 went out of our Company. viz. Leiu^t Cumings took the Command of the party Serj^t [Peter] Procter Josiah Procter [both of Littleton] Samuel Fassetts [of Westford] Andrew Farmer [of Billerica].

After which we was Ferried over the River to Albany Drew Two Days Provisions Took 79 Battoes Loaded them with 20 Barrills provisions in each Boat with Seven Hands on Board of each & Sat Sail with a fair wind up the River & Came about Six miles to Cap^t Vanornoms where we Landed & tarried all all Night & it was very wet

17 We Sat Sail in the morning & Came up the River about 9 miles & Encamped it Being a wet Night.

18 Sunday We Sat out & Came up very Bad Falls about Two miles and half to the Head of the falls where we was obliged to wade up all the falls & Draw the Battoes here we Encampt, it Being a wet Night.

19 We Sat Sail & Came about one mile & half where we unloded our Boats & tarried Cheif of the Day. Towards Night we Hoisted Sail & Sat out with a fair Wind & Came down to Half moon in an hour & half This was 9 miles here we Drew a days allowance & tarried all Night. here we left Simeon Cumings [of Dunstable] with y^e Leiu^t

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20 This was a wet morning We Stowed 40 men in a Boat & Came down to albany & Drew 4 Days Provisions.

Was ordred to Load other Boats & Go another Trip up the River with Provisions accordingly we did & came up about a mile above the City & Encamped. Abraham Taylor Benjamin Pollard & Caleb Hustone Came up to us, that we Left At Kinderhook. also Samuel Hawood [of Billerica] & Timothy Twist [of Woburn] that we Left at worcester.

21 We Sat Sail & Came about a mile above the fort at Half moon & Encamped

22 We Came up the falls and Encamped.

23 Sat out & came to the Landing Place unloaded our Boats Came Down to half moon & tarried all Night

24 Here we Left all our Boats only Just enough to Carry the men in, & Sat out Came down to albany where we Landed Below the Town & was forbid going into the City by Reason of the Small Pox. orders Came that the massachusetts Troops Should march, accordingly 10 Companys Marched upon the Hill above the City, Containing 564 men officers Included where Three other companys of the same Coar was already Encampt. Here we Drew our Tents & pitched them in order a man of the Second Battallion Royal Hiland Regiment Rec^{d} 999 Lashes for Leaving his Poast when on Sentry

25 Sunday A Detachment of 100 men was Sent out into the woods to Look up Kings oxen, Seven Sloop Loads of men arived here of the New York Rhod Island & Jersey Troops, A party of about 30 men were Sent to Crown Point under the command of Lieu^{t} Clark two of which Belong,d to our Company, viz. David Kemp [of Groton] & John Heald [of Townsend] Jonas Butterfield [of Dunstable] that we Left Lame at westfield Came up to us A Detachment of men was orderd to look up oxen But it Being a wet Day they Did not Go

26 Drew Six Days Provision, Serj^{t} Craggitt [Cragin, of Acton] of Cap^{t} W^{m} Barrons Company was taken Sick with the Small Pox

27 The Serj^{t} was Carried into the Hospitle. Orders Came that Cap^{t} [Daniel] M^{c}falings & Cap^{t} [John] Clapums Companys Should March with a Detachment out of each of the Remaining Companys To Fort Miller & Saratoga (12 of which went out of Cap^{t} Whiting Company) Under the Command of Major Hawks viz. David Trull [of Littleton], Jonathan Hartwel, Joseph Hartwell [of Westford], Benj^{a} worster [of Littleton], Thompson Maxwell [of Bedford], Timothy Priest [of Lincoln], Benj^{a} Allen [of Lincoln], Jon^{a} Peirce [of Woburn], George Hiber [of Littleton], John Robinson [of Dunstable], John Walker [of Lincoln], & Jon^{a} Lawrence [of Littleton] They ware all Paraded after which they was all Dismisst and ordred to appear upon the Parade tomorrow morning at Day Brake.

28 General Election at Boston The men that was Detacht yester-

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day Marched off about 250 of them, a Detachment were sent out after oxen The officers Drew Lots to see which of them should go down the Country to Look for Disarters & it fell to Cap^{t} Whiting & L^{t} King & they sat out This was a Showrey Day

29 Nothing Remarkable.

30 Cap^{t} [Thomas] Ferringtons[1] & Cap^{t} Jinks Marched with their Companys & a Detachment out of the Remaining Company in Camp, Some ware Sent back after they had Sat out a Corprol & 4 men went out of our Company viz. Corp^{l} Benj^{a} Baulding [Baldwin, of Billerica], Joseph Pollard [of Westford], Jonath Pollard Ephraim Johnson David Rumrill & Ephraim Johson — Freeborn Raimond & Thomas Hildreth Came up here that we Left Sick at Glasgow [Blandford]. Took 4 Days Provissions

31 Orders that all the massachusetts Troops Should be Draw,d up at the Head of their En-Campment at 4 o'Clock this evening. & at 5 o'Clock his Exelency General Amhurst with a Number of other officers Came to View us after which we ware all Dismisst.

A Return of all the fire arms was made that Belonged to to the Massachusetts Troops & amonition was Drawn

Sunday 1st June a man Belonging to Cap^{t} Martins Company Receiv'd 50 Lashes for Not Doing his Duty orders that 300 of the Rhode Island Troops March up the River this afternoon, & that all the Massachusetts Troops Now Encampt Should Strike their Tents tomorrow morning at Day Brake. & that the Regment of 1000 should be allowed Provision or the four Pence,s in Leu of it for four Women ℔ Company and those of 700 for Three Women ℔ Company A Weekly Return was made our Company at this time was Reduced to 48 men officers Included.

2 Struck our tents & Sat out for Fort Edward, took one Battoe to a Company to Carry the Tents & officers baggage & Camp aequepage & Came up as far as Half moon & Encamp^{t}

3 We Took Battoes to Compleat the Whole with 7 men to a Boat with Provision Corn & hay & Came up as far as the foot of the falls below Still water unloaded our Boats & Encampt.

4 Sat out & Came up Two pair of Falls & then arived at Still water where we Loaded our boats with 30 Barrils of flower. Or 25 of Pork Pees or Rice. this was a very Rainy Day & a tedious time we had of it & the men Cheifly tarried here all Night But I with my Boats Crew Came about 5 miles farther to the great fly so called & encampt.

5 We Sat out & Came as far as the falls above Saratoga, this was a very Tedious Rainy time & we Encampt

6 This also was a wet Day unloaded part of the Boats & took them up the falls Carried the provisions in waggons one mile & half

[1] Captain Thomas Farrington was in command of a Groton company.

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7 It Still Remains Wet Unloaded the Remainder of the Battoes & took them up the falls & Encamp^{t}

8 Sunday. Dull Lowrey Still hangs over our heads. Loaded our boats & came up Two miles & half to the Carring place opisite Fort miller where we unloaded the Battoes Drew them out put them on wagon & Carried them half a mile by land & the provisions, & Lanjt them into the River again. Cap^{t} Whiting Came up to us this Day.

here we Left Freeborn Raimond in the Room of Jonathan pollard.

9 Loaded our Battoes as Usual And Sat out for fort Edward & on the way we meet a Number of the Hiland Troops Coming Down the River in Battoes who was a going to Joyn General Amhurst arived at Fort Edward & unloaded our Battoes & Encampt. Lieu^{t} James Couch was Broke & Sent Home. Several Shours this Day Here we Left Moses Shattuck [of Littleton].

[*One leaf missing.*]

16 Sat Sail & Came to Crown Point Fort where we Landed & Pitched our tents. Had Intillegence of Major Roggers,s Fight within about 50 miles of S^{t} Johns Where they had a very warm Engagement a party of about 5 or 600 of the Enemy fell upon 300 of our Rangers & Proventials fought them for Considrable Time & Killed Nine of our men on the Spott & wounded 13 more 10 of which Died soon after Cap^{t} Noah Johnson was Killed at the Same Time. Tis thought they Killed a Large number of the Enemy but Never Could find out how many for they being so Numorious they Carried off their Dead. John Heald & David Keemp Joyn,d our Company again that was Sent from albany the 25 of June [May] Last. We had Several very Smart Thunder Showers here this Day.

17 Four of Cap^{t} Ferringtons men Joyn,d our Company viz David Sawtell Jonathan Holdin Nath^{ll} Green & Ephraim Keemp [all of Groton].

Likewise Peletiah Whittemore [of Dunstable] & henry Foster [of Billerica] that we Left at Green bush Sick Came up to us Detachments of men for Fatigue till there was Scersly a man Left in Camp. A Number of Rhode Island Troops arived & Encampt here

18 A Small Light was Discoverd on the other Side of the Lake Just Before Sun Sit Whereupon Maj^{r} Skeen, Cap^{t} Brewer, & Cap^{t} James Roggers of the Rangers with about 30 men went out in Two Battoes & one whale Boat on the Discovery & was gone all Night. Cap^{t} Hutchins of the Proventials also went out

19 This morning the Party Came in. Brought in Two English Prisoners that was Taken Last Winter who Ran away from the Indeans & Built a Light that they might be Discovred By the Garrison.

This Day Cap^{t} Foot Came in with about 116 other Prisoners in the Brigg with a Flagg of Truce from the french who Give account that

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y^e^ French are So Short of provision they Could Keep them no Longer Two Companys of the Massachusets Troops arived here. viz. Cap^t^ Wintsworths & Cap^t^ Jaksons.

20 An Express went to Ticonderoga a Small Party of men went Down the Lake with Major Skeen

21 Wet Day Cap^t^ Whiting Inlisted Carpenters to work in the Fort Cap^t^ Jeffords Company arived here

22 Sunday. Nothing Remarkable

23 This was a wet Day, Major Roggers arived here from his Scout at Saint Johns, Brought in 25 Prisoners

24 A man of the massachusetts Received 100 Lashes for his Insolent Language to his Ensign the Cremonal,s Name was John Bunker [of York].

25 A Party was Sent Down the Lake to Bring in the Remainder of the Prisoners Five Companys of the Massechusetts Troops arived here

26 Orders that a Party Should be Sent Down to putnums Point for Cutting Timber

27 Colo: [Joseph] Ingersoll Major [Caleb] Willard 3 Cap^ts^ 9 Subs. 9 Serj^ts^ & 300 of the Massechusetts Troops Embarkt for Putnums Point. a Return of the Gunners was made. a Rany Day

28 Cap^t^ Jonas,s Company with a Detachment from the massachusetts & Rhode Islanders was ordred away as Gunners & marcht Down to the water side & Encampt

29 Sunday. The Three Whale Boats Came in that went Down the Lake after y^e^ Prisoners.

30 A Command Consisting of one Cap^t^ Two Subs Four Serj^ts^ & a 100 proventials To proceed to the Saw mills with 16 Battoes for provisions in 8 of them & 8 to be Loaded with Boards. Two men Carried out of Camp Sick with the small Pox.

1^st^ July. A party Consisting of Two Subs Four Noncomision,d officers and 58 Proventials, were order,d Down the Lake to Releive the Same Number of Regulers on Board the Sloops. Leonard Butterfield & Jonas Butterfield [both of Dunstable] went out of Cap^t^ Whitings Company

2^d^ Orders that No Sutler Should [sell] any Liquor after gun Fire. Ensign Emerson Willcutt & [Joseph] Hatfield [both of Brookfield], Joyn^d^ Cap^t^ Whitings Company.

3 Cap^t^ Silas Brown with a 100 men were Sent up to Joyne Colo Ingersol at Putnums Point.

George Morris of the market & the Ranging Sutler had their Liquor Stove for Disobeying orders. orders that the Sutler of the Rangers & George Morris of the market that had their Liquor Stove this Day. To Quit Crown Point Emediately. if they hereafter are found in the Camp

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or in any Post Between this & Albany they will be whipt & Drum,d out a very Smart Thunder Shower this Evening

4 One of Cap^{t} Baileys men was Carried out of Camp with the Small Pox Brigadier Ruggles arived here this Day. Peter Jones [of Boston] of Cap^{t} Martins Company Receid 50 Lashes for Refusing to Do his Duty & for Insolent Language Confin,^{d} By Capt. Abiel Peirce

5 A Bark Conoe was Brought in with 6 Indians, & Said they Came from General Johnson across the Woods from Oswego. & had a french Sculp

6 Sunday. Sent the 6 Indians in a Battoe with a Serj^{t} & 7 men to the Landing Place at Ticonderoga

7 A Party Consisting of 1 Cap^{t} 2 Subs 4 Serj^{ts} & 100 men of the Proventials ware Sent up to the Saw mills with 16 Battoes for Provisions and to Return again as soon as Possable This was a very hot Day

8 This morning about Sun Rise a Party of the Rangers Being at work was fir,d upon by the Enemy & in y^{e} Scurmage 1 man was Killed & Six wounded it Lasted about half an hour Major Roggers with a Party of the Rangers & Light Infantry went in persuite after them. Being Regimented Cap^{t} Whitings Company Comes into the 2^{d} Battallion in Brigadier [Timothy] Ruggles,s Reg^{t} Com^{d} by Lieu^{t} Colo: Ingersoll mov^{d} & pitcht our tents in Regimental order

9 Major Roggers Came in with the Party But Could find Nothing of Nor any Sines of them.

10 one of the Proventials Receiv,d 100 Lashes for neglect of Duty.

11 A man Rec^{d} 50 Lashes for Using the word to one of his Sergeants Dam ye to hell & wishing him there

12 A man of y^{e} Massachusetts Troops Rec^{d} 500 Lashes for Inlisting twice & Disarting after wards

13 Sunday. One of the Regulars was Confin,d to our Quarter Guard by one of the Provential officers for his Misbehavour to him & passing the Sentry with out order, where upon Emediately A mobb was Rais,^{d} By the Regulers & Came to Repleive the Prisioner at the Guard house & Knockt Down the Sentrees at the Guard house Dore & Let out y^{e} prisner Whereupon Emediately the Piquet was all Rais,d & persued them & fird Two guns upon them took some prisoners the Rhode Islanders Caught the prisner

14 This morning 4 of Cap^{t} Jenks,s men Confin,d by their Cap^{t} for forging orders against him & Ill Treatment was Brought to the Post one Rec^{d} 250 Lashes one 150, one 50 the other was Sat free by the Brigadier

15 An Exceeding Dry Time for y^{e} Season one of y^{e} Regulars was

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flog,d for Striking one of the Proventials at y^e^ Spring and Braking Two of his Ribs

16 Nothing Remarkable Happen,d this Day, The Train Threw Several Bumbs to P[r]actise at a mark

17 A Dull Time for Nues in Camp

18 A very Smart Thunder shower was Draw,d up & after Role Calling Had Prairs of one of y^e^ Provential Chaplins which was y^e^ first Prairs We have had Since we Came in Camp

19 Major Hawks,s Party arived here 12 of which Joynd Cap^t^ Whitings Company that was Draughted from it at albany

20 Sunday Began to Do Serj^t^ Majors Duty

21 The Brigg & Sloop Came in from Ticonderoga

22 150 men Were Sent to Ticonderoga in Battoes for Provisions, Came Back this Evening.

23 A Boat Came in from y^e^ Sloops.

24 A Rainy Day. Two sloops Came in from y^e^ advance Guard. Cap^t^ Hutchings arived here from Gen^l^ amherst & Joyn,^d^ the Rangers.

25 A Detachment of 400 Regulers, Proventials & Rangers Excluding officers wers Sent to the Saw Mill in Battoes for Provisions

26 A Rainy Day.

27 Sunday. Had Preaching.

28 No Extroydonaries Hapend this Day

29 A Command of about 80 Proventials & 40 Rhode Islanders Excluding officers were Sent Towards N^o^ 4 With 2 Days Provisions in order to meet y^e^ N: Hampshir Reg^t^ who By Intilligence of Two men that Came from them & ariv,^d^ here Last Night was Like to Suffer for want of Provision.

30 A party of one Serj^t^ & 24 men were Sent to Ticonderoga for Sheep

31 The Party Came in with y^e^ N Hampshir Reg^t^ & Encamp^t^ Near the Grenadiers Encampment

Aug^t^ y^e^ 1 Very wet in y^e^ morning. orders that all the Boats to be Delivered to the respective Reg^ts^ of Regulers, as well as Proventials in order to Examin the Same & fitt them Better if Possable, Notwithstanding no orders yet ariv,d Determining the Time of Embarcation, therefore the following Detachment was orderd out to fit & Secure them, viz. 6 Cap^ts^ 19 Subs, 52 Serj^ts^ & 523 men from all the Corps L^t^ W^m^ Holdin arived here

A follower of the army Rec^d^ 1000 Lashes for Stealing & was Drum^d^ out of Camp with a Halter about his Neck & his Crime wrote & Pind upon his Brest & So Sent to Albany.

2 A Detachment Consisting of 1 Cap^t^ 3 Subs, 5 Serj^ts^ & 111 Seamen of the Massachusetts & Rhode Islanders to Embark on Board his Majestys Brigg the Duke Cumberland.

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3 Sunday A party Consisting of 200 men Excluding officers went with Majr Burk over to ye other Side ye Lake to Cutting Timber Ye New Hampshire Regt Past muster Before Lt Small

4 Peter Linsey [of Boston] of Capt martins Company Recd 250 Lashes for making an atempt to Disart Richd Gattoway [of Boston] of ye afores^{d} Company Recd 40 Lashes for making a Disturbance in Mr Hubby,s Markee & using ye Adjeant with Insolent Language one of Capt Harts men Recd 20 lashes for Refusing to go on Duty when orderd by his Serjt

5 A Detachment of 100 men was Sent to falling trees towards the Block Houses with Major Hawks a man Carried out of Camp with ye Small Pox.

6 An Express Came in from Generel Amherst to Colonel Haverland, also money to Pay of the Soldiers Part of their Wages.

7 Making Ready as fast as Possable for an Embarcation in order for a Trial at Isle au Noix or St Johns

8 Orders that the army Should hold them Selves in Rediness for an Embarcation at the Shortest Notice. Majr Burks Party Came in, & Colo: Ingersols from Putnams Point. 3 Indians Seen on the other Side the Lake

9 Several Detachments was orderd out this Day. 40 men of the Massachusetts Joynd the artillery. Was in the greatest Preparation for an Embarcation

10 Sunday. Richd Galloway [1] of Capt Martins Company Recd 900 Lashes for fighting Striking & threatning officers & for abusefull Language to them &c. The Recrutes Came in viz Colo: Whitcombes Regt from ye Massachusetts An Express Came in from the Brigg. Orders that the army Should Strike their Tents Tomorrow morning & Embark in order to pass Lake Champlain, also how they Should Proceed, & in what form they Should Go & in what Posicion they Should form to Land.

11 Loaded our boats with 5 Barrills of flower & 3 of Pork, & upon ye Sygnal of a Gun from the artillery Park the General Beat, upon which the army Struck their Tents & put them on board their Battoes, & upon the Sygnal of a Second Gun, the army assembled & march,d Down to their boats & Embarkt But Not put off from ye Shore And the Sygnal was made on board the Leginear Rideau [Radeau] upon which the Army Sat Sail But with a Contarary wind The Number of Vessals and Boats the fleet Consisted of is as follows viz. One Brigenteen 4 Sloops, 3 Rideaus [Radeaux], 3 Prows, 2 Large Boats, 263 Batteaus Large & Small, 41 Whale Boats, 12 Canoes & Proceeded about Six miles & Landed on the west Shore, advanc,d a Piquet according to former order & Encampt

[1] See entry under August 4, where the name is written Gattoway.

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12 Embarkt in y^e^ morning Sat Sail with a Contarary wind & Came about 8 miles & Came too in Butten mole [Button Mould] Bay & Encampt on y^e^ Shore

13 This morning a Councill was held upon Cap^t^ Shores & he was Broke & Sent Back to Crown Point for his miss Conduct in times Past, altho the Sentence was Past upon him Before, yet it was not Reveald to him till now

Sat Sail But the wind Still holdes very Conterary & we Came about 10 miles & Encampt Near Legenier [Ligonier] Bay Harbour on the west Side the Lake

14 We Sat Sail with a very fair wind But Stormy & very Ruff wether & Ariv,^d^ at Schyler Island which Days Sail was about 30 odd miles & on our Voyage this Day one man was Drownded another axe-dentally Shott himself & tis to be feard very Mortally wounded. had further Intillegence of Several Boats Being Cast away And the men Lost Some of which Belonged to y^e^ Rangers

15 The wind Still Holds fair but not So Boistrious as Yesterday. Yet Several Boats was Cast away & Some Stove on the Shore we Came about 35 miles & Encampt on Isle La: Motte. Orders Came how the army Should Proceed & in what form they Should go and how they Should form to Land, and above all it is highly Recommended that we Should pay no Regard to Popping Shotts from y^e^ Shore & that no man Should fire out of any Boate also it is Recommended that Nothing be Done in a Hurrey which will Prevent Confusion Clean^d^ our fire Locks, & Compleated y^e^ men with ammunission

16^th^ About 3 o'Clock this morning we all Embarkt & Sat Sail for Isle au Noix which was about 10 miles & Came & Landed on the Est Shore about 1 o'Clock within about 2 miles of the Fort without any greate matter of mollistation The french fired Several Shotts at our Rideau [Radeau] & Sloops & our People fir^d^ Some at them We Encampt & made a Brest worke, half y^e^ men up & y^e^ other to Lay on their arms this Night, we hove Several Bumbs in the night.

17 Sunday. Pritty Calm this morning about firing, About 8 o'Clock Cap^t^ Clagg Belonging to the Train on board of a Small Artillery Rideau, Bore away Towards the fort whose orders was to go on till fir,d upon, accordingly he Did & By a Six Pounder had Both his Legs Shott off after which y^e^ Cap^t^ soon Died, 5 more wounded, one of which had Both his Legs Shott off, the other 4 one Legg apeice Soon after one or Two Dy,d Corp^l^ Majery of Cap^t^ Baileys Company was Broke & Whipt 300 Lashes for Denying his Duty. Keept on fortifying Clearing a Rhode, &c. Very Calm & but Little firing the Remainder of this Day one man Carried to Crown Point with y^e^ Small Pox.

18 Fired Several Cannon at the men at worke oppisit y^e^ fort, But to Little Purpose also fired upon our Rangers & Kill,d one with their Small arms in a Boat

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Pritty Calm & But Little firing
Began to build our Battries for Bumb & Cannon

19 Moved our Encampment & Encampt oppisit the Fort, in about half a mile of it, in a very thick Place of woods & made a Brest work Both in front & Rear was fir,d upon from the fort But Rec^{d} no Damage

20 A Disarter came from the french & Resin,d himself to our guard this morning about Day brake. He gives us an account that there is about 1500 men in the fort & that they are Short of Ammonission & have but Nine Peaces of cannon in the fort fir,d very hot on our men at work at the Battries Detachments ware Sent to work at the Battrys all Night this was a Rainey Day

21 Landed Part of our Artillery Was fired upon at the Battries had 7 or Eight men wounded Two fals alarams in the night one of which was a Little before Day brake & our men fir,d from one End of y^{e} Lines to the other But no Enemy was near to oppose us

22 A man carried out of Camp with y^{e} Small pox. Keept on building & Repairing the batry,s as fast as Possable in order for a warm Reception 3 French Prisoners was bro^{t} in that was taken Between S^{t} Johns & Montreal, for which the men that Took them had 50 Guineas Reward y^{e} Party Consisted of a Serj^{t} & 6 men

23 Open,d Three of our Battries at 3 o'Clock this afternoon upon the Sygnal of a gun from the artillery & which Time the Drums & fifes Beating a Pint of war from one End of y^{e} Lines to the other, after which we Blazed away very Smartly from our Battries one man was Kill,d & Sculpt by y^{e} the Ingans, 2 more Kill,d & 2 wounded

24 Sunday. Began to Errect a new batry Below y^{e} fort to Prevent the french going off, as we Preceiv,d they was making Ready for an Escape, the Party that was at worke at the New battry was fir,d upon from the fort By their Cannon wounded 15 of our men, Some tis to be feard mortally this was a Lowry wet Day

25 Cleared off We Blazed very hot upon them all this fore noon. Took three Vessals from them viz one Rideau one Topsail Schooner & a Sloop and 30 odd men on Board of them who gave Intillegance that there was about 150 men Kill,d this Day by our Cannon Bumbs & Small arms & that there was a Reg^{t} of Brigaids Joynd them Had one man killed at y^{e} Lower battry this Day with a Cannon ball from y^{e} french he Belonged to Cap^{t} Barrons,s Company made a Trial Last night to Cut away the Boam that the french had fix^{d} across the Lake from the fort to the Est Shore to Prevent our Shipping going Past the fort.

26 Orders for a Number of men to go on bord the Prize Vessals Consisting of 165 men officers Included to go Voluntiers from the Proventials, also for 41 men to List out of the Massachusetts Reg^{ts} to Joyne Major Roggers as Rangers in Lieu of that Number of the New hamp-

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shires that was not fit for Rangers Thompson Maxwell, of Cap^{t} Whitings Company Listed a Ranger. & Serj^{t} [Jonas] Parker [of Chelmsford], Sam^{ll} Treadwell [of Littleton] Thaddeus Read [of Westford] & John Robinson [of Dunstable] wint on Board the Prizes.

27 This was a thick foggy morning & the more so By the Smoake of the Cannon & bumbs Both of the french & English for they Played very Smartly on Both Sides But y^{e} french threw no Shells at us But the Cannon Crackt as tho the Heavens & Earth was Coming together for Cheif of the Day

A Ball from the Enemy Came through one of our Amberzoers [embrasures] & into a Magazean Where was many Shells & Cartridges & Sat it on fire and Brew it up Broake about 20 Shells which Killed 2 men & wounded 2 more very bad, one of those that was killed Belonged to the Massachusetts, the other to the 17th Reg^{t} The french Played very Smartly with their Cannon all this Day

28 Last Night the french Disarted the Fort, Took of all their Baggage which they Could Carry on their backs & made their Escape off as fast as they Could Left a number of their Sick & wounded but the Exact number I cannot tell, about 20 french Regulars Came & Resin,d themselves. We took Possesion of their fort & hoisted King Georges Colours on the Walls, Sent our Flower to be Bak,^{d} in their ovens, had French Bread & Pork to our allowance Seven of the Rangers Persu^{d} the army & took one from their Rear & Got Considrable Plunder Four of the Light Infantry Brought in 2 french Prisoners that they took near S^{t} Johns Began to Embark our artillery & fix as fast as Possable in order to make a Push upon S^{t} Johns

As to the Cituation of y^{e} Isle Au Noix it is cituate & Lying very Low in the Center of the Lake & has a very Strong Fortress on it & is very Strongly Piqueted in all Round & Contains about acres The Island Contains about acres tho very Low & Swampy Greate Part of it & Cheifly Cleard up

29 Embark^{d} all our artillery that was thought Necesary to Carry along with us Orders that Boats Should be took over to the Island & Loaded with 5 Barrills of Provisions & Brought Back again to the Side next our Encampment & that y^{e} Tents Should be Struck Tomorrow morning half an hour after Reveillie Beating & the army to be Redy to Embark when orderd

30 Struck our tents this morning & Put them with our Baggage on board the Battoes After which the army soon Embarkt & Sat Sail with a fare wind for S^{t} Johns Our orders was to Keep in the Same Posision as former orderd & to form a Line to Land in the Same manner when orderd, which was to be Told us & Which Shore we Should Land on Left all our Sick & wounded at the Island with officers & Soldiers Draughted from the Proventials in order to Keep the Fort

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When y^e^ Front of our army Came in Sight of S^t^ Johns, Fort, & the grand Jeoble that we took at Isle au Noix had fir,d one or 2 Shotts at it, the french Sat it all on fire & made their Escape as fast as Possably they Could, Major Roggers with his men over took Some of them & had a Scurmage with them. Lost 2 men & one or Two more wounded one of which was L^t^ Stone who was Shott Through the foot the Rear of our army Landed about 2 o'Clock & En Camp^d^

31 Sunday. Major Roggers Took & Brought in 17 Prisoners amongest which was one Major & 1 Cap^t^ of y^e^ french army Orders Came Last night for the army to throw up a Brest work in the front of our Encampment, accordingly we Began it this morning, Soon after which orders Came to the Conterary S^t^ Johns is Cituate on y^e^ west Side the Lake [River] & according to Apperance it was a Prity Strong fortres & Butifully Cituated Before it was Consumd there is Considrable Clear,^d^ Ground But few Emprovements Orders Came that the army Should Strike their Tents Tomorrow morning a Quarter after Revallie Beating in order to go to S^t^ Therese Colonel Haverland Sent a Packit to General Murrey Very Cold for the Time of Year

1^st^ Septem^r^ Struck our Tents according to orders & Put them on board Orders that as the Army is now going into the Inhabitant Part of the Country, therefore it is order,d that none of the Inhabitance are Plundred or Ill Us,d on any Protence. Whoever are Detected Disobeying this order will be Hanged & that we Should Take nothing without being Regularly Paid for This is Done to Induce the Inhabitance to Stay in their Villages, & good Usuage will Prevent their men from Joyning their French Army The Army Embarkt About 3, o'Clock in the afternoon & Sat Sails & as our Battalion is the Rear Guard we Came about 2 Miles to the head of the falls & Encampt But y^e^ Regulars & those in y^e^ front went Down y^e^ falls & ariv,d at S^t^ Therese this Night

2 Sat out this morning & Came Down y^e^ falls without much Difoculty & ariv^d^ at S^t^ Therese which is about 6 miles from S^t^ Johns Here was on the West Side the Lake a Little Snugg Fortress Before it was Consum,d but there was the Stockad & Pikets Standing, and a Butifull Little Trench Round it Here we Encamp^d^ on the west Shore & Began to throw up a Brest work at the front of our Encampment Maj^r^ Roggers Brought in 2 french Prisoners

3 This was a wet Day, We finesh^d^ our Breast work Here was 2 or 3 french familys who Came in & Traided with us & Past & Repast without any mollistation they Exchang,d Green Peas & other Comodities for Salt Pork and Salt which was very Scerce amonge them & hard to be got Bought Horses from them & had their assistance in Drawing our Artillery

4 Clear,d off A Detachment of about 200 men were Sent to Fort Chambelle in order to Lay Siege & Take it with Some Artillery Ac-

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cordingly This Day about 2 o'Clock in the after noon they Surrendred only at y^e^ Discharge of 2 Cannon & 2 Shells being hove into y^e^ fort They Sent in this Night about 12 o Clock 70 odd French Prisoners

5 A Detachment of 400 men were Sent Down to Joyn them at Chamble a Detachment Consisting of 1 Cap^t^ 4 Subs 5 Serj^ts^ & 60 Rank & File Took Ten Battoes & Sat out for y^e^ Isle Au Noix for Provisions A Party of Cap^t^ Hazens Rangers came in with an Experes from Genrol Murrey they Left the army Last Night in about 12 miles from Montreal Some french officers Came in with them with Horses

6 A Detachment was Sent to meet those at S^t^ Johns that went to the Isle au Noix Yesterday for Provisions & meet them & Returned here with y^e^ Provisions All the french & waggon they Could Raise were Sat to Carrying the Provisions to Chambalee all this day & have Been Three Trips & Seem to be very Chearfull in Serving their new Master The Battoes was all Sent to the Island oppisit the Stockaded Fort & moor,d of in the Streem Drew Six Days Provisions

7 Sunday Orders Came & the army marched for Montreal Excepting the Sick & them we Left on the Island Some was Sent to Chambale, The French Carried our Baggage & artillery with their Carrages & horses we marched to Chambale which is 4 miles from thence we marched till about 10 oClock at Night & Encamp^d^ in the woods as to the Cituation of Chambale & the fort it is Finely Cituate on the South Side the River Surrell [Sorel] & a Little Snug Fortress wholly Built with Stone & Lime, & many fine Suttlements round it. one thing more I shall Just Remark w^ch^ is Some thing Strang tho of but little Consiquen which is that there was Ice at Chambale near 8 Inches thick which has been Since Last winter

8 We marched & arived at Montrol which is about 25 miles from Chambalee & Encam^d^ on the East Side the River S^t^ Lawrence, Oppiset the City of montreal which was Surrendered to Gen^l^ Amherst this very Day ; Here was Gen^l^ Amhersts Army Encamp^d^ on the West Side the River Above the Town, & Gen^l^ Murreys Army on the Same Side Encamp^d^ below the Town, But the Town Surrendered without much Blood Shead for I Beleave they thought it was But little worth their while to Stand any Rangle with us Gen^l^ Amhersts army had a Spat with the Light Horse about 15 miles above the City of montreal oppisit the Town of the Cocknawagon [Coughnawaga] Indeans, But Received But Little or no harm from them

On our march from Chambalee to Moreal there was very fine Suttlements all the way & very Civer Usuage We Received from them ; The Town of Deprare Ly,s on the East Side the River about 6 miles from Montreal The French Treat us on our march with the Utmost Sevelity, More over our army was very Cautious in Not abuseing any of them or their Substance General Amherst Returns the Troops

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under his Com^{d} Abundance of thanks for their So Strictly observing his orders

9 A man Belonging to Cap^{t} Baileys Company Died very Sudden after he had Eat his Dinner

as to y^{e} Cituation of montreal y^{e} City Lyeth on the west Side y^{e} River and is very Butifully Cituated Close along upon y^{e} water & the Surburbs or other Settlements Lay up & Down the River for many miles in Length & a very Butifull Leavel Place as Ever I Saw, & appears to have many very fine farms on Both Sides the River & fine Churches

10 Orders Came that the Provential Troops Proceed as fast as Possable to Crown Point under y^{e} Command of Brigadier Ruggles, Accordingly the army marched But the Sick was Sent in Battoes By water to Chambalee where they was to meet the army I Being unable at this time to march went By water So we Sat Sail 10 Battoes of us & Came down the River about 6 Leags & Landed & tarried all Night at a French Village & they Us'd us very Cively

11 We Sat Sail this morning with a fair wind & a very Brisk Gail & Came to a Place Called Surrell [Sorel] where we Took in an English Prisoner that had Been Two years with them this Surrell Lyeth 15 Leags Below montreal, here the River Surrell Emtys it Self into y^{e} River S^{t} Lawrence St Lawrences River from Montreal to this Place Runs a N N: East Pint, & all the way upon Both Sids the River there is very fine Villages & Churches We Sat Sail up the River Surrell & Came 5 Leegs & Encampd. St Franciways [François] Lies 5 Leags Below Surrell

12 Here we took in a Little Girl of 5 years of age, (a Daughter of the widdow Johnsons that was taken with her But was Parted) & Brought it along with us, & Came about Six Leags and Encamp^{d} [1]

13 Sat out & Came up the river about 4 Leags & arived at Chambalee where we Joynd the army again who Lay there wating for us, here we Put our Baggage into waggons & marched to S^{t} Therese & Encamped

14 Sunday Embarked & Came to S^{t} Johns where Sam^{ll} Herrin of Cap^{t} martins Company was very much Hurt By his Powder horns Cetching a fire full of Powder about his neck Embarked & Sat out with a very Conterary wind & ariv,d at y^{e} Isle au Noix & Encamped, this was a wet Night

15 Took in our Sick People, & Left a Detachment, Colo: Thomas Tarried here to Keep the Fort: And we Sat out But the wind Still holds Conterary & Encamped on the west Shore

[1] Susanna Johnson, daughter of James and Susanna Johnson, who was captured with her parents by the Indians at Charlestown, N. H., on August 30, 1754. She was at this time ten years old, but her mother was not a widow.

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16 Sat Sail with a fair wind & Came about 30 Leags & Encamped on the East Shore

17 Sat Sail, But a very Foggy morning & Came about 4 miles & arived at Crown Point & Encamped on our old Encamping Ground

18 400 men was Detacht and Sent to work on the other Side y^e^ Lake under the Command of Maj^r^ Burk A Number of men Sent for Fatigue

19 The New Hampshires threaten to Disart for which Reason all the Serjeants of the Proventials was ordred as a guard all Night

20 The Rangers arived here from Moreal in order to take Battoes Down the Lake for the Regulars to Come in Very Cold for the Season

21 Sunday. Nothing Remarkable

22 The Rangers Sat off Down the Lake in Battoes to fetch the Regulars over

23 The Royals arived here this Night

24 Nothing Remarkable Hapned this day

25 Very Rainy Last Night & to Day The Grand Deoble arived here this morning

26 Men Carried out of Camp with the Small Pox more or Less Every Day

27 A very Sickly Time in Camp.

28 Sunday. A Detachment of Proventials & Rangers was Sent to the Saw Mills in Battoes for Provisions.

29 A very Could Storm, a very Sickly & Dying Time, Fatiguing very Hard A Party was Sent to Ticondaroga

30 A Party was Sent to Ticondaroga. The Rangers Joyn,d their Respective Corps

Oct 1^st^ A Party was Sent to Ticonderoga or Saw mils

2 Some Regulars arived here from Montreal One of the Proventials Receved 100 Lashes for Disarting a Fatiguing Party

3 Colo: Haverland Arived here with a number of Regulars.

4 Sir Williams men arived here that Came with General amherst A mighty Discord amongst the Regulars this Night Disputing who had the best Right to a woman & who Should have the first Go at her even till it Came to Bloos, & their Hubbub Raised all most the whole Camp.

Some men Disarted from the Proventials this Night

5 Sunday. Had Preaching. Nothing Remarkable.

6 7 Major Schean Sat of in a whale Boat for montreal with a Serj^t^ & 8 Proventials to Carry Two French Laides Down there.

8 Some men Disarted from y^e^ Proventials

9 Some of the Disarters was Brought Back & Confind to the Pervoo Guard

10 A Number of Sick was Sent home By the way of Albany. Men Die very fast in the Hospitle.

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11 Nothing Remarkable.

12 Sunday. Had Preaching. The Small Sloop arived here from S^{t} Johns. Very Pleasent for the Season.

13 Nothing Straing.

14 General Amherst arived here from Montreal this Evening

15 A Sickly Time & many Die.

16 More men was added to the works untill all Got on Duty. Nine of our Provintial Disarters Inlisted with the Regulars in the Inniskilling Reg^{t} to Clear them Selves from other Punishment.

17 A man of Cap^{t} Martins Rec^{d} 100 Lashes for Insolent Language to his officer & Posisting in it after he was Confin^{d} & Calling his officer a Black Guard.

18 Nothing Remarkable.

19 Sunday. Very Rainy & Could.

20 Two Sloops arived here from the Isle au Noix.

21 all the Sick was View,^{d} By M^{r} Mun Row.

22 Nothing Remarkable.

23 A Large Number of Invaleads was Sent Home by the way of N^{o} 4 [Charlestown, N. H.][1]

24 More Sick was Sent Home by the way of Albany

25 Two men Carried out of Camp Sick with the Small Pox.

26 Sunday All the Rangers was Sent Home only Cap^{t} Ogdens Company. 50 of them went by N^{o} 4, & the Rest by the way of albany.

27 W^{m} Matthews of the New Hampshire Reg^{t} was Sentanst 500 Lashes for Mutiny & Disobediance of orders which was Proved against him, & to Receive them this Day Before the Mounting of the Guards this morn: 100, at whitmores, 100, at the Inniskilling, 100, at y^{e} Massachusetts, 100, at y^{e} Rhode Islanders, 100, at the New Hampshire Reg^{t} & to be Drum^{d} out of the army with a Halter about his neck & to be Sat over on the other side the Lake with Provisions to Carry him to N^{o} 4 a Surgeon was also to attend accordingly the Prisoner was Brought to the Poast to Receive his Punishment and Rec^{d} 20 odd Lashes & was taken with fitts that he Droped for Dead that they Could not Proceed to Give him his Punishment So the Prisoner was Conveyed to the Guard

28 General amherst wento winter Quarters. Could wether comes on amain.

29 Fatigues are very hard, to that Degree we Cannot Compleat the Partys Required.

[1] At the period of the French and Indian War the four townships on the east bank of the Connecticut River, before they received their names, were numbered in their geographical order, and known by their numbers alone. They come now within the State of New Hampshire, — Township No. 1 being known as Chesterfield; No. 2, as Westmoreland; No. 3, as Walpole; and No. 4, as Charlestown.

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30 Colo: Thomas with a Detachment that was Left at the Isle au noix arived here this Day

31 A very Tedious Time for Colds & Caughs in Camp.

Nov^{r} 1st Finished Raising the New Wooden Barrak in the New fort of 120 feet in Length.

2 Sunday Nothing Remarkable Hapned

3 Colo Willard Sat Sail in order for home Colo Ingersol Sent Part of his Baggage

4 I Took Sick with a Tedious Cold

5 Gun Powder Treason

A mighty firing throughout the Camps this Night. A Corprol was Sent with a file of men Through the Lines to Patrole the Camps in order to Confine the men that fired.

6 & 7 Nothing Remarkable

8 Dull Lowry wether & Looks Like a Storme of Rain

9 A Very Rainy Day Sunday

10 Fired 21 Cannon in Honour to the Day it being King Georges Birth day

11 The Sick was all Drawed up & Viewed By M^{r} Munrow

12 A Large Number of Invelads was Sent Home By the way of N^{o} 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]

13 A Number of the feebelest of the Inveleads was Sent Home By the way of Albany

14 A Snow Storm Began Last Night & Snowed about 3 Inches Deep, after which is Tedious Could Blustering Wether 27 Cannon was fired

15 As the Carpenters was Shingling the Stone Barrak one of the Stages Broke & three men fell from the Roof & was very much Bruised A Party was Sent to Ticonderoga for flower

16 Sunday. Orders that all the Carpenter Should Return in all their Tools Tomorrow & was Paid off for their work the Same Day A Party was Sent to Ticonderoga for Flower Cap^{t} Page with 60 men Sat off for N^{o} 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]

17 Orders that the Massachusetts & Rhoad Islanders Should Strike their Tents Tomorrow morning at Day Brake & Return them in to the Commassary; & march to Ticondarog where we are to Receive Provisions to Carry us to N^{o} 4. this was Joyfull Nuse to us, as the weather was then Cold Brigadier Ruggles with his attendance marched for home by the way of N^{o} 4.

18 We Struck our Tents according to Order & Began our march for Ticondaroga (L^{t} Col^{o} Ingersol took the Command of the first & Second Battallion's) & we arived there the Same day & Drew Eight Days Provisions to Carry us to N^{o} 4. & was Carried over the Lake & Encampt on the other Side Cap^{t} Whiting Sat Sail for Albony

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19 We Began our march through the Woods.

23 Sunday arived at the Connecticutt River about Sun Sett & was ferry'd ouer & Encampt on the other Side

24 Marched into the Town of N° 4. where the Regulars abused Some of our men We was Drawed up; & Drew Allowance and Every man took their own way home this was a wet Day

25 Two men that was Confin'd for Burying a man alive in N° 4 woods Rec^{d} their Punishment, one Rec^{d} 500 Lashes, the other 100

Sat out from N° 4. & Came 18 Miles & Encampt in the woods till the moon arose & then Sat out & Came to Keen about Day Brake; which is 30 miles from N° 4.

26 Tarried here till afternoon and Came about 10 miles & Encampt till the moon arose; & then Sat out and arived at Lanlord Elexanders in Doublin where we Slept till Day this was a very Snowy Night

27 Sat out & Came to Peterborough & tarried at M^{r} Swans this was a Rainy Day

28 Sat out & Came to Townshend & tarried all Night at Jonas Stevens's

29 Sat out & arived at Groton.

And Blessed be God who has Preserved me in health this Campaign also; who has Covr'd My Head in the Day of Battle & Return'd me in health to My Friends Again

FINIS

The following orders are found on three loose sheets; one sheet or more is missing, which will account for the abrupt beginning.

Campany,s, and will Send in a Return of What Ammunision they Want that they may Receive Carabine ball, Powder, Paper & thread to make up 36 Rounds Compleat ℔ man

The Provoss Guard to be Reduced to a Corprol and of four men

The 2^{d} Batt^{n} Royal Highland Reg^{t} and Montgommery,s to Receive Three Days provision Which will Compleat them to the 27 Inclusively

ALLEX^{R} DONALDSON adj^{t}
2^{d} Battl^{n} R: H Reg^{t} & of the Day

Albany may y^{e} 25 After orders
Parole Crown Point

The Twelve Company,s of the Massechusetts Troops Encampt to Receive Provisions To Morrow morning at five OClock to the 29th Inclusively

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Monday May y^{e} 26th Parole, Rockinggum.

Tusday May y^{e} 27th Parole, Dartmouth

Camp Near Albany Thursday May y^{e} 29th
Parole York Sheir

The Company,s of Montgumry,s Regiment To March To morrow Morning at 5 o'Clock, They Will Receive Their Waggons in Propourtion to their Number allowed To Carry Camp Aequapage and Baggage to Schenactada by applying To Colonel Bradstreet, All the men on Duty of that Regiment to be Releived this evening & their Colours To be Lodged in the Fort in the Same manner as Those of the Royal. Major Campbell will Receive his Orders from the General.

The order Given the fifth of may Last Year at Albany, Relating to the Granediers & Light Enfantry Telling of the Battallions & Posting of Officers the Serjeants takeing Fire Locks in Stead of Holbords.

And only one Drumer Being Allowed $\mathfrak{P}$ Company The Rest Put in the Ranks.

No Women Being Permitted to Go with the Reg^{t} or to Follow them.

The Method of Marching the Regiments are To Practize the orders for the Front and Flanque and Rear and Flanque. Plattoons are to be all the Duty Observ'd this Campaign. and as more Baggage then is absolutely Nessecary for the officers Is an Encumbrance to officers and men and must Be an obstruction to an army in this Country Each officer Must take a Small Tent, Blanket, Bair Skin and Port Mantle, They will Take no Sashes Into the Feild. The Regiments that have Gorgats will ware them when on Duty, and Each officer will take Care that the men Dont Load them Selves With any Thing more then is Nessesary.

A Koknawago [Caughnawaga] Indean is Suspected to Be Strooling about the Town or Camp, Every officer or Soldier who Sees any Indean who is not known or Cannot Give an account of Him Self Will Bring him to Head Quarters. The Massachusetts Troops to Receive four Days Provisions to the Second of June Inclusive A Return of the State of Each Company to be Given in Emediately.

May y^{e} 29th Regimental Orders.

The Commanding officer of Each Company in Camp will take Care that no Strong Spirits Even Syder are Sould by the Soldiers nor Small Beer, Unless Liberty first obtained from the Quarter Master.

The Role of Each Company to Be Call'd every Morning in the Presence of a Commison^{d} officer @ Six o'Clock, and @ Sun Set.

What Ever Soldier Shall Be Found Easing Him Self in Camp will be Severly Punisht. The New York, New Jersey and Rhoad Island Troops Will Receive Provisions to Compleat them with what they have allready to the Second of June Inclusive.

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Friday May y^e^ 30^th^ 1760 Genral Orders
Parole, Albany

The Cort Martial Ordred this Morning To Set at the orderly Room So soon as the Prisoners is marched in for the Triol of the Soldiers of Montgumry,s accused of Burning M^r^ Tinbrooks[1] out House.

M^r^ Graham Presidant: Cap^t^ Montereef Debuty Judge Advocate. all Evidance to attend in Case the Cort Martial Should Not be over by the Time. Sir Allen M^c^Lain,s Company Marches. Which Company is to march at Two o'Clock this afternoon, The Evidances a Corprol and Six Men to march the Prisoners.

The Commanding Officers of the Company,s of Montgumrys Regiment having Desired to take their Colours into the Field they are to take them accordingly. All the Regiments are emediatly To Clear their men to the Twenty fourth of Apriel. after wards at the End of every Two months agreeable to Former orders. One Serjeant Two Corprols Guard of Six men Each, are to be Posted By Leiu^t^ Coventry alonge the Fence which Runs at the Bottom of the Hill to Holland House; To Prevent that Fence Being Distroyed and the Cattle Gitting out. Two Serjeants & 36 men to be ordred from the Proventials for the Service of the Scows & to Remain till further orders.

After Orders

Cap^t^ Baker.s, Cap^t^ Hawkton,s, & Cap^t^ Plats,s Company,s of the Second New York Regiment to be Compleated with arms.according to the Returns Given in this after noon by applying to Colo: Williamson To morrow morning at five o'Clock.

The first and Third Regiments of New York to be Compleated with arms To morrow morning according To the Returns Given in By applying to Colonel Williamson.

The first Regiment to Receive theirs at half after Five The third at Six o'Clock.

Saturday May y^e^ 31^st^ 1760

General Orders. Parole Barlin

The Field Officers of the Provential Troops Who are arived here, & have Commisions to Send a Return of their Ranks, & Dats of Comisions To the Adjetant General at orderly Time.

Colonel Thomas or officer Commanding the Massachusetts Troops will Send in a Report from what Company,s The Several Detachments of the Massachusetts Troops Sent up Hudson River, are taken as the Companys are not form,d in Battalions, he will Give in this Return at Five O'Clock this Evening.

[1] See next page, where the name is written Tim Brooks.

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The General will See what Provential Troops are in Camp, at the Head of their Encampment at five O'Clock this Evening They are to be drawn up in Two Ranks, all those that have arms are to appear with them, and those that have Powder Horns and Bullet pouches will Put Them on.

A Cort Martial of Enquiry Consisting of one Major and Four Capt^s of the New York Troops To Set at the Court House at Eight o'Clock Tomorrow Morning to Examin into the accustions against Peter M^cCoy who is Confined By Leiu^t Muyncher on Suspition of Heaving a man over Bord And Drownding him.

Leiu^t Colonel Ingalson is to Remain here to Receive the massachusetts troops as they Come in which he will Report as they Come in The Regiment of 1000 will be allowed provisions or the four pences in Leiu of it for four women ℔ Company, and those of 700 for Three Women ℔ Company

This allowance to Be paid to the Women By Leiu^t Coventry at Albany and the Commanding officer of Each Regiment is to Send in a List of the women of Each Company of the Regiment who are Recommended for this provision, which he will Sign & Transmitt to the Major of Brigade who will Give the List to Leiu^t Coventry & give in their Names to the Mattron of the Hospitle.

That if they Should Be Required for the attendance of the Sick they may attend or otherwise be Struck off the Allowance.

The General Cort Martial of which Major Graham is Presedent is Disolved.

and Donald M^c Kinson private Soldier of Montgomries Regiment Tried on Suspition of having Malisiously & willfully Sat Fire to M^r Tim Brooks[1] out House is found Not Guilty of the Crime Laid to his Charge & is acquited Capt. Cameron will take him to Joyn the Regiment.

Dr. WINSOR, in behalf of the Committee to whom was referred a proposed addition to the By-Laws, made the following report, which was unanimously adopted: —

The Committee to whom was referred a proposed addition to the By-Laws beg leave to report: —

The Society is at present acting, in the publication of its volumes, upon methods established in its early days, when the calls of life were much less multifarious than now, and when the Society had among its members those of leisure and fit-

[1] See preceding page, where the name is written Tinbrooks.

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ness to edit all the volumes of which its treasury could pay the cost. This condition has gradually changed, until of late years it has become apparent that, with material in abundance and with money sufficient, the issues of the Society have been growing more and more infrequent. The reason of this is not far to seek.

There has naturally been a disinclination to burden longer with editorial cares those of the older members of the Society who have already done their share of service in this direction. At the same time the conditions of life at present show us that the time of the younger men is so uniformly pledged in their professional and other stations, in a degree almost equal to their endurance, that it has grown to be a matter of no small difficulty to constitute committees of publication which shall be at the same time effective in character and operative in the work.

It therefore seems necessary to restore the balance of desire and performance, even at some disregard of the old usages of the Society.

Your Committee see no better way to do this, than to let the Society have an officer who shall assist the usual committees in a way to relieve them of the more laborious parts of their duties. To that end they would recommend the adoption of a new article to Chapter XIII. of the By-Laws, and they append herewith the requisite draft.

JUSTIN WINSOR.
EDWARD J. YOUNG.
MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN.
R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

Dr. Deane, being ill, was not able to attend the meeting of the Committee; but the purport of the report was communicated to him by Dr. Winsor, and it met with his concurrence.

Voted, That the heading of Chapter XIII. of the By-Laws be changed from "Of the Publishing Committee" to "Of Publications;" and that the following additional article be added to Chapter XIII.: —

"ART. 3. In order to facilitate the work of the Society, the Council may, when it shall seem expedient, appoint a member of the Society, or other competent person, who shall be immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes,

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whether of Collections or Proceedings, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press. If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex officio* a member of all committees of publication; but if he be not a Resident Member, his authority shall be subordinate to that of said committees. In view of the laborious nature of his duties, he may receive a salary, the amount of which shall be fixed by the Council, as in the case of the Librarian's assistants."

Mr. YOUNG communicated from Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes a memoir which he had prepared of the late Mr. William Amory.

Mr. GOODELL then said: —

I desire to call attention to two remarkable books which have come to my hands since the last meeting of the Society, and copies of each of which I have bespoken for our Library.

The former of these is a reprint of the edition of 1660 of the "Ordinances of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," including a *fac-simile* reproduction of the famous "Body of Liberties," published, by order of the City Council of Boston, under the supervision of the Record Commissioner, our esteemed associate, Mr. Whitmore.

The copy of the "Body of Liberties" is the same that was printed in our Collections as a contribution of the late Francis C. Gray. A comparison of the manuscript with the ancient records leaves no doubt that this copy is contemporaneous with the date, and therefore, unquestionably, an original.

Mr. Whitmore's work on the edition of 1672 was appropriately noticed about the time of its publication by our associate, Judge Chamberlain. We need now only to discover a copy of the lost edition of 1649 to make the history and chain of our legislation complete from the date of the foundation of Boston. We may also still hope that sometime a copy of "Endecott's Lawes" may be discovered in the archives of the House of Lords or of the Privy Council; but these were not so regularly and properly the laws of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, to which the State succeeded as a political body.

This book is a magnificent contribution to the history of

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our jurisprudence, and at once reflects the greatest honor on the wisdom and liberality of the city of which every true American is justly proud, and the highest credit on the learning and industry of the accomplished editor. Indeed, when I think of the results of the labors of the Records Commission of this city, I cannot repress the feeling that the highest possible token of approbation ought to be given by every historical society in New England to our associate (to whom we and the community are indebted for starting and successfully prosecuting this work) for thus rescuing and preserving, at very great sacrifice to himself in more ways than one, these invaluable monuments of the past, which were in imminent danger of being lost, and which are now put before us in such convenient shape that they will be better understood and appreciated by lawyers and students of history.

The second volume I refer to is the "Two Hundred and Fiftieth Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," made specially memorable by the presence at the annual training of a delegation of the Honourable Artillery Company of London.

This bulky pamphlet contains, besides the admirable Artillery Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks, a full and interesting historical sketch of the organization from the beginning, and an account of the hospitalities extended to such of the members of the Boston Company as attended the Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the parent company, July 11, 1887.

The speeches on these occasions are reported in the volume with great fulness, and it will surprise the general reader to learn from these how well the American speaker maintained the reputation he has won for readiness and versatility in adapting his remarks to every occasion. The speeches of the Captain commanding the Boston Company will, I think, challenge comparison with what we have been taught to consider some of the best models of eloquence of the class here represented.

The manifestation which this book contains of reciprocal good feeling between representatives of New England and Old England, it may be said, I think, without exaggeration, undoubtedly marks an era in the world's progress.

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Mr. George O. Shattuck, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

It was voted to discontinue the regular meetings until October, with the understanding that a special meeting, if necessary, might be called by the President and the Recording Secretary.

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM AMORY, A.M.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

MR. WILLIAM AMORY, who died on the 9th of December, 1888, was born in Boston on the 15th of June, 1804. His father was Thomas C. Amory, the senior partner in a commission house in Boston; Mr. Jonathan Amory being the other member of the firm. Mr. Thomas C. Amory's wife, the mother of our late associate, was the daughter of Admiral Linzee, of the British navy.

The father of our associate was a man much respected and beloved by his contemporaries. His memory is preserved in a funeral sermon by the scholarly rector of Trinity Church, Dr. John S. J. Gardiner, in which discourse he almost rivals the eulogist who attributes

"To Berkeley every virtue under Heaven."

He speaks of him as "the patriotic citizen, the respectable merchant, the tender husband, the kind father, the affectionate brother, the zealous friend, the amiable companion, the benevolent man."

Our friend can have had nothing more than indistinct recollections of his father, who died in 1812, when his son was but eight years old. At that age William Amory was sent to a boarding-school kept by Mr. Knapp, — first at Brighton, afterwards at Jamaica Plain. Here he remained until he was fifteen years old, when he entered Harvard College as a member of the class which was to graduate in 1823. I say "was to graduate," for any one who will look over the triennial or quinquennial catalogue will see that the members of that class took the degree of A. B. all the way along from 1823 to

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1880, when the last repentant rebel of more than half a century ago was taken back into the arms of his Alma Mater. For the Class of 1823 was that of the "Great Rebellion," in which very nearly half of the class rebelled, and were expelled, and lost their degrees at Commencement in consequence. Mr. Amory received the two degrees, Bachelor and Master of Arts, in the year 1845. Among his classmates were many persons widely known in the literary, political, or social world. Mr. George Ripley is remembered as a critic and an editor; Mr. Charles Pickering, as an ethnologist; Judge James D. Haliburton, as a magistrate; Thomas Wilson Dorr, as a would-be revolutionist. Mr. George H. Calvert and Mr. George Peabody were friends of Mr. Amory; and these three gentlemen were enough to confer social distinction on any class that ever graduated at Harvard College.

After leaving college in the abrupt and untimely way which circumstances forced upon him, he spent a winter in Groton, where his younger brother was at school. Mr. Amory has given a very pleasant account of his residence in this place in a letter to our Librarian, Dr. Green, which is printed in the "Groton Historical Series."

In 1825 he went to Europe and devoted himself to the study of the civil law and of general literature at the University of Göttingen for a year and a half; afterwards, for nine months, at Berlin. He then travelled for between two and three years, and in 1830, after five years' absence, returned to Boston. He pursued the study of law in the office of Mr. Franklin Dexter and Mr. William H. Gardiner, and in 1831 was admitted to the bar of Suffolk County. He did not, however, intend to practise as a lawyer. In the same year he accepted the office of Treasurer of the Jackson Manufacturing Company at Nashua, New Hampshire, in which employment he continued for eleven years. Without previous special training, he soon became an expert in his duties; and this first appointment proved to be the beginning of a long and successful career. The following record shows the extent to which he was trusted in the management of great manufacturing interests. In 1837 he was chosen Treasurer of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company. This was a most important appointment, involving great responsibilities. A new centre of industry was to be organized on the Merrimac,

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the mother of cities, where Lowell, Lawrence, and Manchester are busy seats of industry. Other offices claimed his administrative skill and activity. He was chosen Treasurer of the Stark Mills, after this of the Manchester Mills, and their successor, the Manchester Print-works; and still later, a Director and President of the Langdon Mills. In 1876 he resigned his official positions, but continued always ready to act as the adviser of the great business concerns of which he had long been the manager.

Mr. Amory was connected with various associations, — among others, with the Friday Evening Club, the Saturday (literary), and the Somerset Clubs; he was Lieutenant of the Boston Light Infantry Company at the time of Lafayette's visit to this country and the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument. His earlier military experience was as First Lieutenant of the Harvard Washington Corps, the "College Company."

We see that he was a very busy, hard-working man, — one of the soft-handed sons of toil, as important, to say the least, to the community as the handicraftsmen with the most callous palms that hold a spade or shovel. But it is not as a worker that most of us remember him; it is as a man of cultivated intelligence, a wide reader with a most retentive memory, a friend and companion whom it was always delightful to meet, one whose loss no other can supply. I doubt if there is more than one living man, — certainly I can think of but one, — who knows the history of social life in Boston for the last threescore years so well as Mr. Amory knew it; and his discourse was never so charming as when he recurred to the past, and summoned its dignitaries and its beauties before his enchanted listeners. Mention the name of —— (but I need not mention it) before Mr. Amory, and the Boston beauty of the first quarter of the century stood before us in the sunset glow of an old man's admiring memory so radiant that living loveliness seemed to grow pale in her presence.

So of all that he had seen, so of all that he had read, his conversation was full of its rich gleanings. He loved good company, and he was himself always good company. A born gentleman, with delicate facial outlines, the plastic features, the refined utterance, which are rarely found in the male sex without two or three generations of culture, he graced every

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circle into which he entered, and made himself acceptable alike to old and young.

One who knew him well says of him: "In his personal habits he was abstemious, almost ascetic, but entered fully into the enjoyment of others as a most genial companion. . . . At eighty-four he was not young, except in feeling, sympathy, and hope; and all these were the charm of William Amory. He accepted age, as he did many other conditions, with a genial patience which disarmed it of half its trials. . . . A Churchman by inheritance and habits, he was broad enough in his views to honor the exponents of other creeds, and he found in all something to interest him." That distinguished leader in the Unitarian denomination, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, was one of his cherished friends and favorite companions.

If Mr. Amory had cared for a literary reputation, he would have been far more widely known as an intelligent and agreeable writer. Our Society has had evidence of this in the tributes from his pen to our deceased members, — Mr. David Sears, Mr. George T. Davis, and John Lothrop Motley. His reminiscences of Groton, published in the "Groton Historical Series," collected and published under the supervision of our Librarian, Dr. Green, are full of interesting recollections, pleasantly told; his address before his contemporaries of the birth-year 1804 is bright with cheerful wisdom; his tribute to the memory of Theodore Lyman, written for the dedication of the fountain on Eaton Square, and the touching and beautiful notice of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Hauteville, show that he could write as easily and agreeably as he could talk.

Many years ago, in walking among the graves at Mount Auburn, I came upon a plain, upright, white marble slab, which bore an epitaph of only four words, but to my mind they meant more than any of the labored inscriptions on the surrounding monuments, —

"She was so pleasant!"

This was all; and it was enough. That one note revealed the music of a life of which I knew and asked nothing more.

This is not all. It is very far from all that we can say of our late honored and beloved friend; but if one impression outlasts all the others, it will be that of the delight which we found in his most engaging and interesting companionship.

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